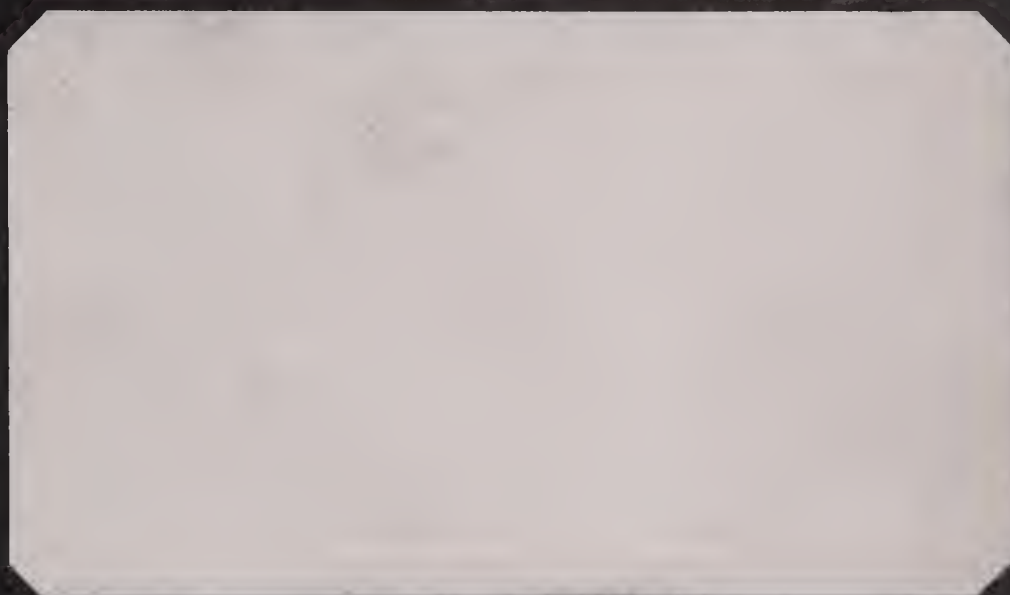


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Social Status and Farm Tenure - Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers

BY E. A. SCHULER

SOCIAL RESEARCH REPORT NO. IV

WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 1938

Monograph

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In order that administrators might be supplied with needed information concerning the problems and conditions with which its program is concerned, the Resettlement Administration (absorbed September 1, 1937, by the Farm Security Administration) with the cooperation of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics conducted a number of research investigations. This is one of a series of reports on these researches. Others will be made available to administrators of programs for the welfare of rural people as rapidly as they are completed. Reports to be issued, as planned at this time, include:

- I. An Analysis of Methods and Criteria Used in Selecting Families for Colonization Projects, by John B. Holt.
- II. Tenure of New Agricultural Holdings in Several European Countries, by Erich Kraemer.
- III. Living Conditions and Population Migration in Four Appalachian Counties, by L. S. Dodson.
- IV. Social Status and Farm Tenure - Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers, by E. A. Schuler.
- V. Family Selection on a Federal Reclamation Project - Tule Lake Division of the Klamath Irrigation Project, Oregon-California, by Marie Jasny.
- VI. A Basis for Social Planning in Coffee County, Alabama, by Karl Shafer.
- VII. Influence of Drought and Depression on a Rural Community - A Case Study in Haskell County, Kansas, by A. D. Edwards.
- VIII. Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture, by Carl C. Taylor, Helen W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick.
- IX. Analysis of 70,000 Rural Rehabilitation Families, by E. L. Kirkpatrick.
- X. Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties, by C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson.
- XI. Standards of Living of the Residents of Seven Rural Resettlement Communities, by C. P. Loomis and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.
- XII. The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935, by W. F. Kumlien, C. P. Loomis, et. al. (Published by the South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, South Dakota.)
- XIII. Standards of Living in the Great Lakes Cut-Over Area, by C. P. Loomis, Joseph J. Lister, and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.
- XIV. Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project, by C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard.
- XV. Standards of Living in Six Virginia Counties, by C. P. Loomis and B. L. Hummel.
- XVI. Social Relationships and Institutions in an Established Rurban Community, South Holland, Illinois, by L. S. Dodson.
- XVII. Migration and Mobility of Rural Population in the United States, by Conrad Taeuber and C. E. Lively.
- XVIII. Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities, by C. P. Loomis.

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CONTENTS

	Page
Chapter I. INTRODUCTION	1
What Would You Do?	1
The Areas Studied	3
 Chapter II. REGION AND RACE: ARE ALL FARMERS ALIKE?	7
The Basic Question	7
Attitudes and Opinions	7
The Agricultural Ladder and Lifetime Patterns of Behavior	24
Landlord-Tenant Relationships	33
Movement and Migration	39
Group Life	44
Levels and Standards of Living	52
 Chapter III. ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS: WHAT DO FARMERS THINK ABOUT FARM PROBLEMS?	64
Desirability of Farm Ownership	64
Non-Owners and the Farms They Want	70
Increase of Farm Tenancy	79
Federal Government Programs for Farmers	81
Appraisal of Own and Other Families' Conditions	84

Chapter IV.	THE AGRICULTURAL LADDER: HOW IS IT WORKING?	102
	The Basic Problem: What Does the Idea Involve, and How Well Does It Fit Conditions Today?	102
	How Long Does It Take to Get There: Average Age of Male Farmers, by Tenure Status	105
	How the Ladder Has Been Working: Farmers' Tenure Histories	106
	Other Elements in Farmers' Lifetime Patterns	127
Chapter V.	LANDLORD-TENANT RELATIONSHIPS: WHAT DO THEY INVOLVE?	153
	The Basic Problem	153
	Landlord-Tenant Interaction	154
	The Question of the Rental Agreement	161
	Landlord-Tenant Disagreements	169
	Operating Credit	171
	Where Will the Tenant be Farming Next Year?	173
Chapter VI.	MOVES AND MIGRATION: HOW OFTEN AND HOW FAR?	177
	Stability or Mobility	177
	Lifetime Patterns of Moving	179
	Duration of Present Farm Occupancy	182
	Distance Covered in Last Reported Move	185
	Measures of Frequency and Distance	187

Chapter VII.	GROUP LIFE IN THE COUNTRY: WHAT DOES IT CONSIST OF?	190
	By Way of Introduction	190
	Informal Social Participation	192
	Formally Organized Group Participation	206
	Miscellaneous Types of Group Life	214
Chapter VIII.	LEVELS AND STANDARDS OF LIVING: WHAT FARM FAMILIES HAVE AND WHAT THEY PREFER	216
	Things to Live With	216
	Things to Make Use Of	227
	Things to Avoid if Possible	230
	What the Farm Provides	231
	The Farm as a Productive Plant	234
Appendix	THE TENURE CLASSES COMPARED	237
	DEFINITIONS OF TERMS	241
	METHODOLOGY	244
	EVALUATION OF SAMPLE	249
	ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	252
	SCHEDULE	253

FOREWORD

This preliminary report deals with phases of land tenure which are widely discussed but upon which, so far as known, specific information has never before been assembled. In essence, it represents a study of the attitudes, opinions, and aspirations of families whose economic and social status is to a considerable extent predicated upon their land-tenure status.

The investigation was projected upon the assumption that effective and successful assistance to farm families in the lower tenure status should be based as much upon the attitudes and aspirations of the family to be assisted as upon the character of the land or the particular tenure contract. The report does not attempt to say that the attitudes and opinions expressed by the response to the questions asked are valid, or that the hopes and aspirations are attained. What it does do is to present a faithful picture of what these people think of their own status, of the status of others around them, and of the prospects for improving their conditions in life.

This is, in fact, a study in social psychology, and, being one of the few studies in that field, its contribution is believed to be of more than ordinary importance.

CARL C. TAYLOR

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and Rural Life, Bureau of Agricultural
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SOCIAL STATUS AND FARM TENURE - ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS
OF CORN BELT AND COTTON BELT FARMERS

By E. A. Schuler

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

What Would You Do?

Let us suppose you are interested in the problem of farm tenancy. So seriously interested, in fact, that you are willing to take a full year from your regular work and spend a good share of any extra funds you have on hand to answer to your own satisfaction the question, "What does 'farm tenant' mean in the United States today?" Where would you begin? What would you do?

The first problem, probably, would be to decide on the method to use. It would be possible, for instance, to study the history of farmers in this country, beginning with the earliest pioneering days and coming up to the most recent post-depression developments. You would spend your time in libraries, in county court houses and State governmental buildings, digging out all sorts of dusty documents, prying loose every available relevant fact. Then, having completed your explorations, you would try to trace out the development of farm tenancy as it is today.

Instead of turning historian and consulting the written or printed source materials, you might prefer to investigate only the farm tenants themselves, locating a few families - working, playing, living with them - and studying them intensively but sympathetically in order to see just how they behave, think, and function in their respective communities. If you wished to do careful, conscientious work, it would be possible for you to study only a very few families in your allotted 12 months. Even so, you might not feel sure, at the end of the period, that the families you had studied were true representatives of the particular tenure class you had set out to understand.

To avoid this serious difficulty, you might decide to start out with your car and trailer, simply "covering the country" as you go, talking briefly with every farmer you found along the way. If you kept notes and checked up at the end of each day, you would discover that you

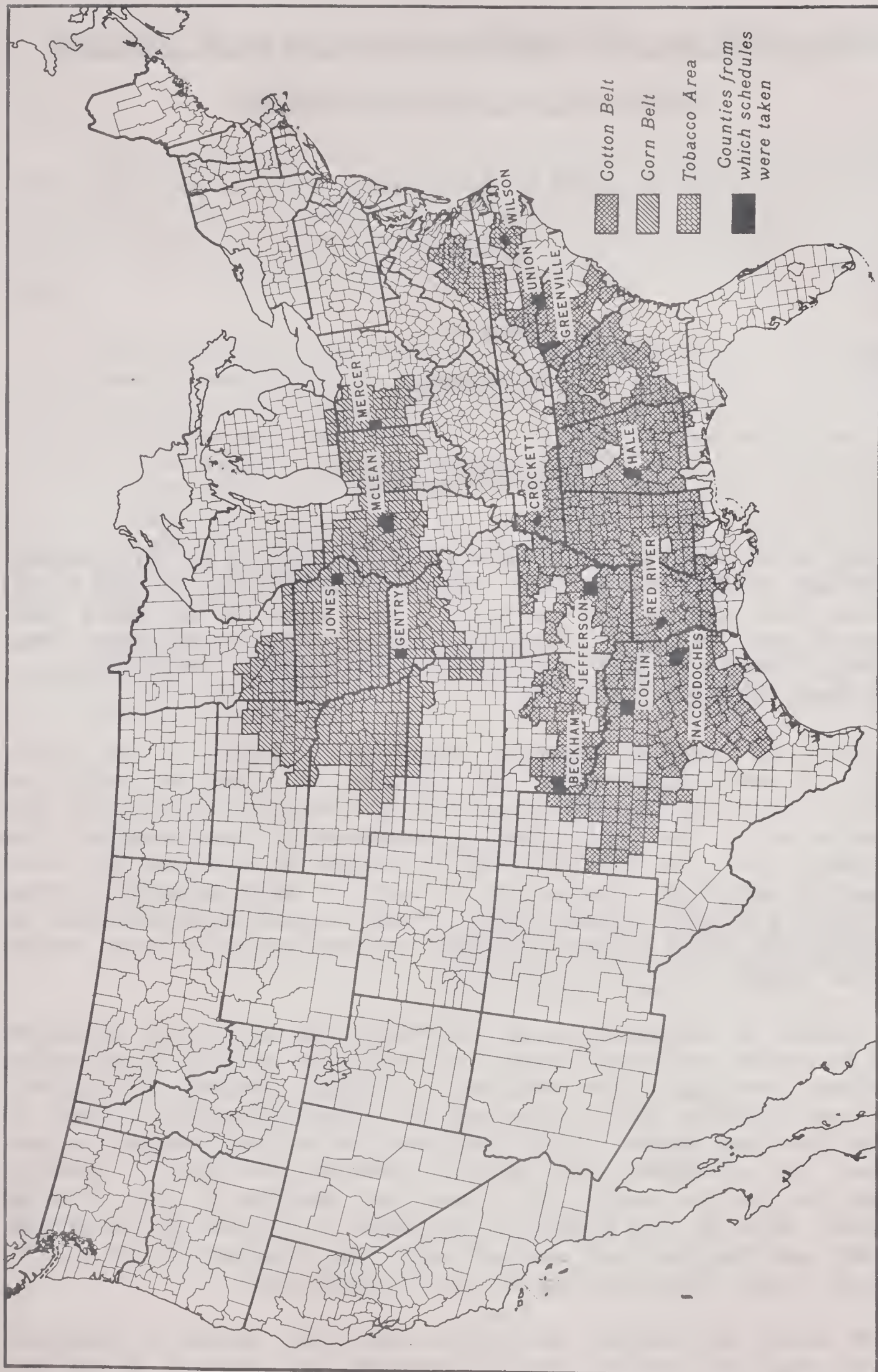


FIGURE 1.- COTTON, CORN, AND TOBACCO AREAS, AND COUNTIES SURVEYED.

had spent hours with some farmers, 30 minutes with others, and no time at all with some men who didn't want to stop work and talk. You would also find that you had talked about some things with one man and about other things with another. You would soon conclude that without keeping notes on the information obtained from all the farmers to whom you had talked on any particular topic, you could not say with any assurance that most of the farmers in an area thought thus and so, had done thus and so, or would like to do thus and so. To make sure that in the future you overlooked no important question in an interview, and that no farmer was left out in the discussion of an important topic, you might make a brief outline to remind yourself of points not to be missed. You might go so far as to prepare a handy form for recording the responses to your questions.

But you would still have the problem of limiting the number of interviews to be made, for you could easily spend the rest of your active lifetime in talking with farm tenants - to say nothing of their wives - without visiting more than a fraction of them. A glance at maps made by the U. S. Department of Agriculture showing the distribution of farm tenancy would convince you that there are two main areas of high tenancy rates in this country. The first is in the South, beginning in the East with southern Virginia and northern North Carolina, and stretching like an irregular crescent westward through the Southern States to Texas and Oklahoma. The second is in the Corn Belt, with high points in central Illinois, the northwestern quarter of Iowa and adjacent portions of Nebraska, South Dakota, and Minnesota. These two areas alone contain over 1,500,000 farm-tenant families, more than one-half of all those in the country (Fig. 1). Obviously, a year wouldn't be long enough for you to get in touch with a good sprinkling of all these farmers.

In this dilemma you would probably turn for advice to the men whose business it is to study these problems, especially the rural sociologists and the agricultural economists at the Agricultural Experiment Stations in the States involved. You would doubtless come away with a short list of counties to be studied. These counties would serve as a sort of sample of the area you wanted to cover but hadn't the time to tackle.

While you are still eyeing the list of sample counties and pondering how best to proceed, perhaps we may profit by the pause to make you a proposal: We will make all the preparations, take all the responsibility, pay all the bills - in short, make the study for you - if you are willing just to go along with us. As a matter of fact, we have assumed your willingness to do this, and the survey you had in mind has already been completed.

The Areas Studied

If you were to begin tomorrow, making two visits in the morning

and two in the afternoon every week day, week after week, regardless of rain, snow, sleet, or dust storms, planting or harvesting, people away from home, your own illnesses or those of others, Thanksgiving, Christmas, the Fourth of July, it would take you 2 solid years to come in contact with as many families as we did in making this study. Even though you can't afford to talk to 2,400 farmers and more, perhaps you can spare a few minutes to make a flying trip around the country with us, visiting each of the counties in which we made interviews.

With Washington, D. C., the headquarters of the study, as our point of departure, we would probably want to head for the nearest area first. This happens to be Wilson County, North Carolina, which lies about 40 miles east of Raleigh in the northeastern part of the State. The land is very fertile, producing much flue-cured tobacco, some cotton, and some corn.

Cutting southwest across the State, we come, about midway east and west in the southernmost tier of counties and not far from Charlotte, to Union County, North Carolina. Here we find the land not quite so good, much more cotton, and much less tobacco.

Going almost straight west, we next arrive in Greenville County, South Carolina, its county seat being the city of Greenville. Here we find much part-time farming associated with employment in the cotton mills, a situation that is characteristic of a long but rather narrow strip of country running northeast into North Carolina and southwest and west into Georgia.

From Greenville we cross Georgia and make the next stop about 160 miles northwest of Montgomery, in Hale County, Alabama, which is in the area known as the "Mississippi-Alabama Black Belt." The term refers to the color of the rich, heavy soil, although your guess that Negroes outnumber whites here would not be wrong. But in Hale County a sort of agricultural revolution is taking place, for the old-time plantation system is gradually giving way before the newer dairying and livestock type of farming which uses the soil to the same advantage but finds less need for the large population of colored folk.

Continuing straight west across Mississippi and into northwestern Louisiana, about 50 miles south of Shreveport we come to Red River Parish, stretching along the river from which it takes its name. Here are typical Delta cotton plantations with incredibly deep and productive soil, but with living conditions among the Negroes probably as sorry as anywhere in the South. The Delta is not simply the swampy tip end of Louisiana where the Mississippi enters the Gulf of Mexico; it is the flat and fertile flood-land that borders the Mississippi and its larger tributaries, sometimes on one side or another and sometimes on both sides, halfway from the Gulf to the Great Lakes. Most of this large area is characterized by the same bi-racial population, the same set of social relationships, the same efficient production of cotton according to the pattern of the Deep South.

Less than a hundred miles from Red River Parish, after crossing the State line into the Pine Hills area of eastern Texas, we reach the sharply contrasting county of Nacogdoches. This local area is possibly more similar to Union County, in southern North Carolina, than any of the others we have visited on this trip: slightly hilly country with poor soil, small farms, tenants relatively much rarer than in the productive Delta area, and low incomes even among farm owners.

Northwest from here, about 30 miles north of Dallas, we come to Collin County in the northern part of the famous Black Waxy Prairie of Texas. This area is characterized by good soil, a very small proportion of Negroes, and a shift toward large-scale farming operations that requires an increased use of hired laborers and modern farming machinery.

Another good day's drive brings us to Beckham County, in southwestern Oklahoma, on the eastern edge of the Dust Bowl. Here the successive dry years, grasshopper plagues, and courage-sapping dust storms have left the cotton farmers with little to live on and with small hope for future improvement. By the time we reach Beckham County, the colored element in the population has disappeared completely. We have crossed the New Southwestern Cotton area, leaving the Old Southeastern Cotton area far behind - we have now reached the western edge of the Cotton Belt.

Turning back toward the east, traversing Oklahoma, and moving into Arkansas about 40 miles south of Little Rock, we get to Jefferson County, Arkansas. Here, close by the Arkansas River, the plantation life is very similar to that in Red River Parish, Louisiana.

Heading for Memphis and going about 80 miles northeast of there, we next arrive at Crockett County, Tennessee, just east of the Mississippi Delta. This comprises a slightly rolling area of fair fertility, although it is not to be compared in this respect with the rich bottom lands. Here you should take a good look around, for this will be our last stop in the Cotton Belt.

Turning north and traversing almost all of the State of Missouri, we come to Gentry County, about 80 miles north of Kansas City, almost in the northwestern corner of the State. Here, instead of the cotton culture we have been observing, we find the corn, oats, hay, and livestock characteristic of the Midwest. A few Negroes live in Gentry County, but they form an insignificant fraction of the people living in towns and constitute no part of the farm population.

Jones County, Iowa, just east of Cedar Rapids, in the east-central part of the State, is our next stop in the Corn Belt. This is a livestock-grain area. Here we find larger houses, larger incomes, and slightly less satisfaction with "New Deal" programs for farmers.

Not so far to the east, almost squarely in the center of Illinois, McLean County will probably impress you as very similar to Jones County, in Iowa, but its farms are primarily cash-grain rather than livestock.

Going almost straight east to Mercer County, at the western edge of Ohio, we find farming and living conditions that represent pretty well both northwestern Ohio and the northern half of Indiana. Live-stock and grain, principally corn, afford a moderate but substantial level of living.

With this stop we complete our tour of the local areas which were covered in the present investigation (Fig. 1, p. 3). 1/

Imagine now that a whole year has passed. In spite of rain and flood, snow and sleet, dust storms and mud, the farmers have been visited. They have told their stories - where they were born and where they have moved, how they have fared on the agricultural ladder, what they think about Uncle Sam and his dealings with the farmer - these and many other things. The bulk of raw material gathered has been worked over and over to see what it would yield of value to you; and finally, after what seems more like a decade of effort than a single year, the results are ready to be turned over to you. The pages that follow are devoted to telling you, as simply and clearly as limits of time and ability permit, the story of what we have found "farm tenant" to mean.

In order to understand the farm tenant, however, it has been necessary to study the other farm-tenure classes. Farm tenants, like human beings in any other category, live in contact with other classes of people. Therefore, it is desirable not only to see what relations exist between these and other farm folk, but also to see whether their outlook on life is the same or different, whether or not they show the same kinds of behavior, and whether or not they have the same things to live with. Accordingly, although our basic purpose is to understand the farm tenant, we have visited farmers in all tenure classes and we shall report what we have found concerning each group.

Now that we have completed our preliminary preparations, surveying rapidly the ground that was covered, we are ready to begin our story. You will find in the Appendix, pp. 237-241, definitions of the terms we are using, and a discussion of the various tenure classes and other categories according to which we are treating the information from our farmers. Here is the report we agreed to make for you.

1/ As a matter of fact, it was impossible to study all the farmers in any of these counties. Instead, schedule information in most cases was secured from all of the families, regardless of tenure, within a single rural community, usually the most suitable minor civil division (ward, beat, or township) within each county.

Chapter II

REGION AND RACE: ARE ALL FARMERS ALIKE?

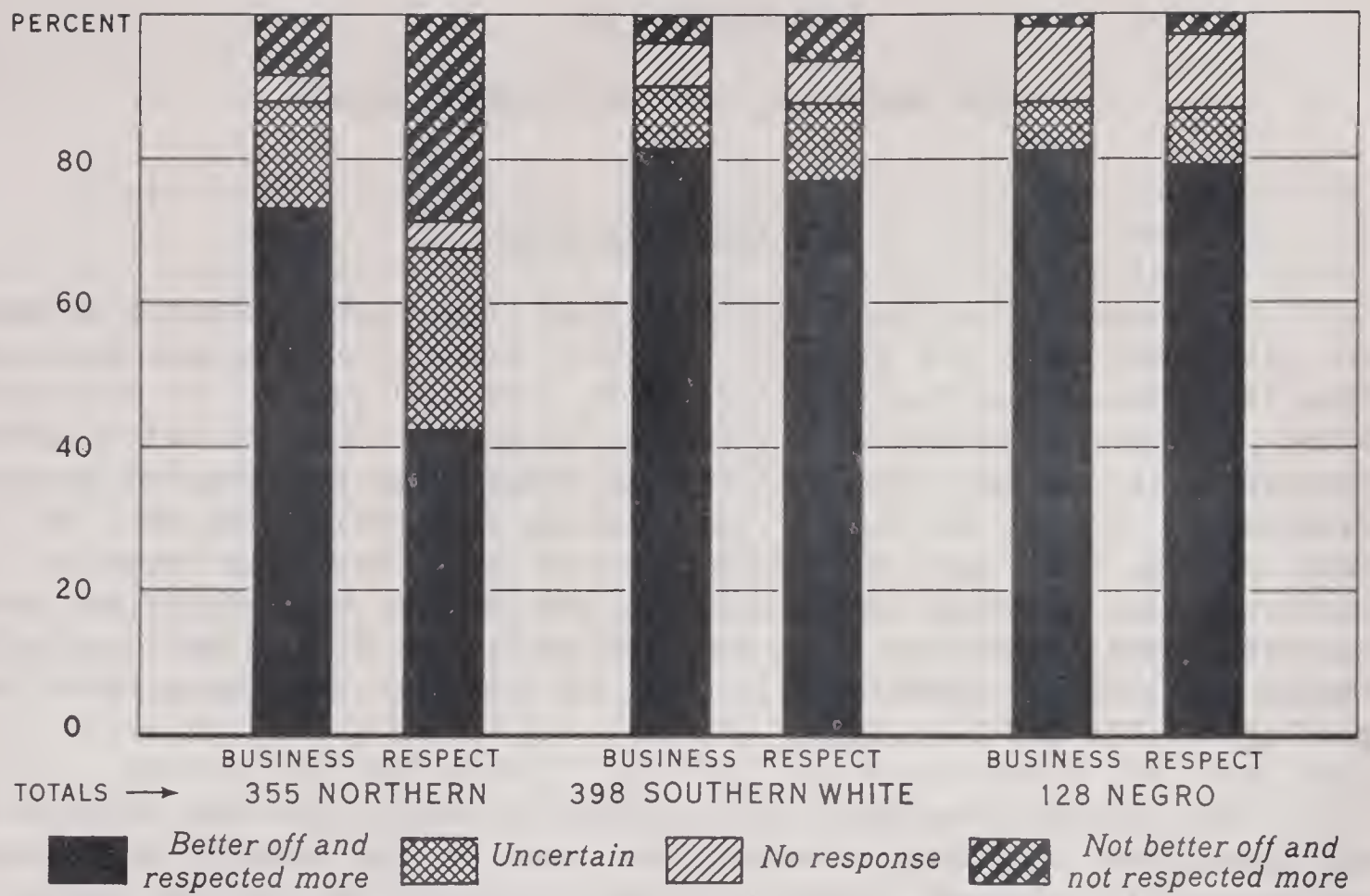
The Basic Question

Our task is to find out just what the various tenure classes are like, how they are similar, how they are different, and what the idea of tenure class really means. But, you will recall, in our rapid swing through the South and through the Middle West we met a great variety of situations. We found in some local areas that Negroes greatly outnumbered whites; in others, that whites outnumbered Negroes; and in still others, that there were no Negroes at all. Throughout most of the South, Cotton is still King, although the acreage over which he rules has been considerably cut down; but throughout the Middle West the whole rhythm of life is different, for it is timed to keep step with the growing of corn and livestock.

The question we must now consider is this: Are the farmers we met throughout the trip so much alike that we may combine our information on all of them, simply separating landlords, owners, renters, croppers, and laborers, to see how the tenure classes differ? If we find that the characteristics of Northern farmers and Southern farmers are the same or very nearly the same in all important respects, we may make the combination without difficulty. The same question is involved concerning Negroes and whites in the South, for many people regard the Negro farmer as different from the white farmer in traits so fundamental that it would be very confusing to interpret data based on farmers of both races. In other words, if the farmers in our three sample populations are basically similar, they may safely be combined for the purpose of studying the nature of the tenure classes; but if they are not basically similar, each regional and racial group must be kept separate in order to see what a given tenure class is in each of the sample populations, and also to see how tenure classes which bear the same name actually differ. Since we are considering in this chapter the fundamental question of the similarity of farmers, regardless of race or region, you already know that we think the differences - psychological, sociological, agricultural, educational, economic, etc. - between Negro and white farmers in the South and between Southern and Northern farmers are of real importance. Therefore, these variations in sample populations must be considered before we take up our main problem, that of tenure differences.

Attitudes and Opinions

As we go further in the study of tenure classes the reasons for discussing and emphasizing the attitudes and opinions of the farmers we have interviewed will become evident. But even at this point it should

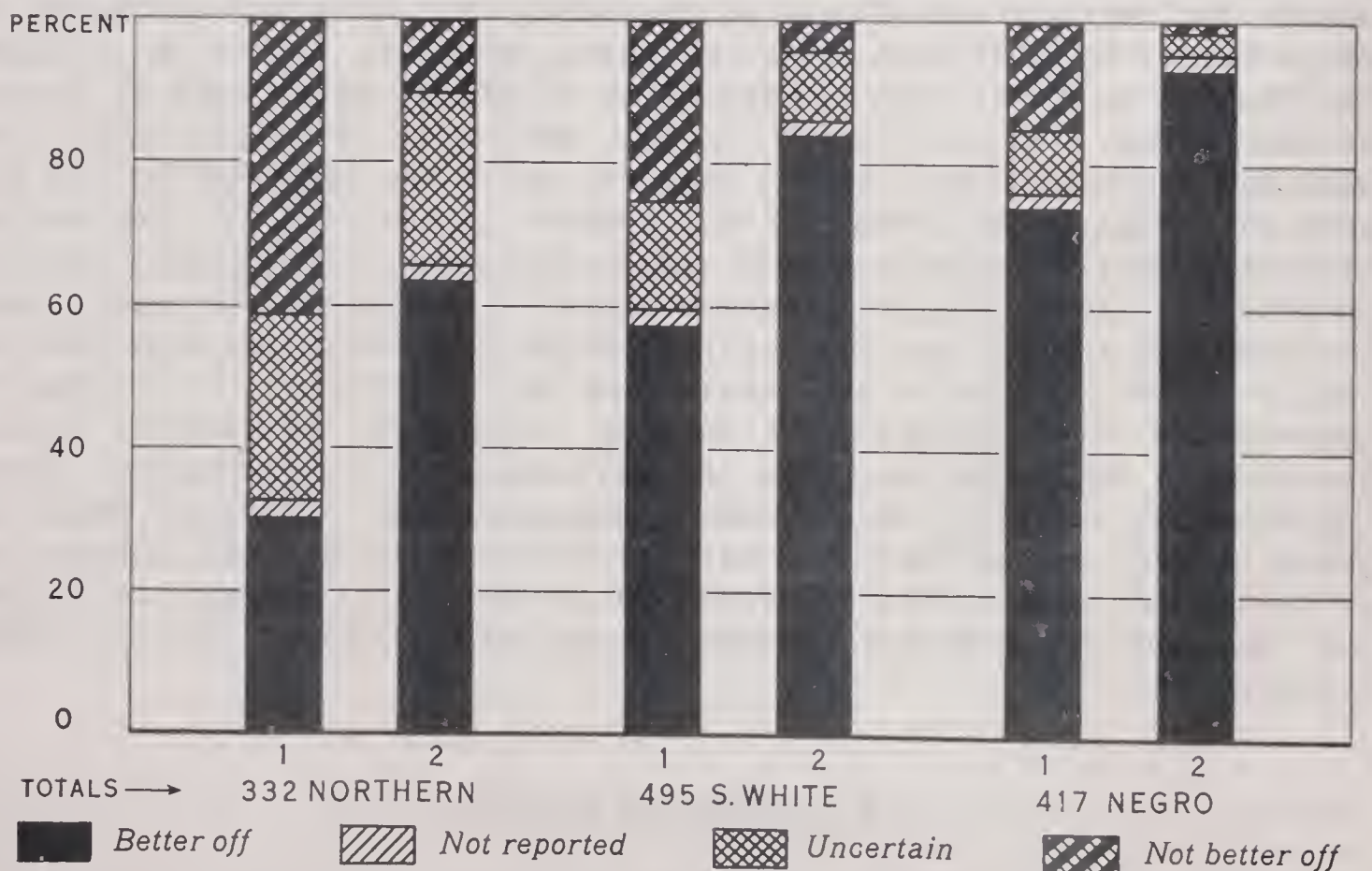


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FIGURE 2.- OPINIONS OF FARM LAND OWNERS REGARDING DESIRABILITY OF FARM OWNERSHIP FROM TWO POINTS OF VIEW: BUSINESS AND RESPECT RECEIVED.



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FIGURE 3.- PERCENTAGES OF NON-OWNERS (1) WHO THINK THEY WOULD FEEL BETTER OFF, OR NOT BETTER OFF, IF THEY WERE MORTGAGED OWNERS, AND (2) WHO THINK OWNERS FEEL BETTER OFF, OR NOT BETTER OFF, THAN RENTERS.

be clear that, if we are interested in determining the similarity of farmers throughout the area we are studying, a basic question is: Do they think alike, and do they feel the same, about farm ownership?

Farm owners are fairly well agreed that from a business point of view owning one's farm is preferable to not owning one's farm. Just about three out of every four, North and South, white and Negro, say they think the farm owner is "better off" than the non-owner. But farm ownership is not purely a business proposition with many people. It has often been true in other countries and at other periods, as it is true today, that the prestige to be gained from owning farm land influences some people to become landowners.

When we ask farm owners, "Do you think people respect you more as a farm owner than they would if you were a renter?" we find that a marked difference appears between the North and the South; in the North less than half of the owners think they receive more respect than they would if they were renters, while in the South more than three out of four say that they receive more respect as owners than they would if they were renters (Fig. 2). To put it differently, you would meet farm owners who felt that they were deriving prestige from land ownership just about twice as often in the South as you would in the North. This would be true whether you were talking with Negro or white owners.

It is also important to find out what non-owners think about ownership, because one's social standing is probably determined more by what other people think of him than by what he thinks of himself. When we ask non-owners whether they think owners generally feel better off than renters, we find that the majority in each sample population say "Yes" (Fig. 3). However, Northern farmers show greater uncertainty, and a smaller proportion give an outright "Yes" than farmers in either of the other groups. Negroes, on the other hand, show the least uncertainty and give the largest proportion of "Yes" responses. Over nine out of ten of them say that they think owners generally feel better off than renters. In other words, although there is a certain general agreement, the feeling of economic difference between owners and non-owners is least marked among Northern, and most marked among Negro, farmers.

These non-owning farmers, however, show striking differences of opinion when they are asked the following question: "Do you think you would feel better off if you owned this farm, but had a mortgage on it?" (See Fig. 3.) The idea of a mortgage definitely does not appeal to Northern non-owning farmers, for this phrasing of the question brings an affirmative response from only one-fourth of them. Two-fifths definitely say they would not feel better off under these circumstances. But when we go to the South we find an entirely different situation. Over half of the white non-owning farmers and practically three-fourths of the Negro farmers indicate that they would be willing to risk the

mortgage in order to gain the advantages of farm ownership. Only one in four of the Southern white, and about one in six of the Negro, non-owners say they would not feel better off as mortgaged owners.

Leaving now the somewhat hypothetical questions for those of a more concrete nature, we shall take up first the responses of non-owners to the question: "Are you seriously looking forward to owning a farm?" About half of the Northern, two-thirds of the Southern white, and three-fourths of the Negro non-owners answer "Yes." Of course, it is impossible to say that "seriously looking forward to owning a farm" means the same thing to all men. Nevertheless, these differences strongly suggest that Northern non-owners either are less optimistic and more realistic about overcoming the obstacles to farm ownership than those in the other two sample populations, or else they are less interested in becoming owners.

If we make the question somewhat more specific and ask: "Would you say that your prospects of owning a farm in the next five years are good, fair, or poor?" we find in all three sample populations that whatever optimism lurked in the answers to the first question has suffered a severe jolt. Just about one in ten of the non-owners in each of the samples feels that his prospects are good, but the proportion who think their prospects are fair is slightly larger in the North than in the South. Those who think their prospects are poor are fewer in the North than in the South, and fewer among the whites than among Negroes in the South. Practically two-thirds of the Negro non-owners feel that their prospects of becoming farm owners in the next five years are poor (Table 1).

Table 1.- Percentages of non-owners who think their prospects of becoming farm owners in the next five years are good, fair, or poor

Classification	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Good	14.2	9.9	13.7
Fair	33.4	26.5	22.0
Poor	48.2	59.3	63.4
Uncertain	4.2	4.4	.8
Total number reporting	332	496	714

Although the majority of non-owning farmers in each of the sample populations say they want to buy farms, the proportions expressing such a wish are considerably larger among Southern than among Northern farmers. Even more pronounced is the difference between the proportions of Northern and Southern non-owners who say "No"; they do not want to buy either the farms they are now living on, or any others. Northern

non-owners give this response relatively three times as often as do Southern non-owners, either white or Negro (Table 2).

Table 2.- Percentages of non-owners who say they do, or do not, want to buy this or some other farm

Response	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Yes	67.8	85.9	89.1
Uncertain	10.2	3.4	4.9
No	18.1	4.2	4.6
Not responding	3.9	6.5	1.4
Total number reporting	332	496	714

If a non-owning farmer says he is looking forward to owning a farm, he probably has a clear idea of what sort of a farm he wants, where it is, how big it is, how much it would cost, and how much he could pay down toward its purchase. We have tried to find out from these non-owning farmers expressing a desire to become owners just what their thinking was in this direction.

The size of the farm desired varies greatly among the three sample populations. Practically three-fourths of the Negro farmers are interested in farms of less than 50 acres. Only one-fourth of the Southern white farmers would be as easily satisfied, and only about one-twentieth of the Northern farmers would consider a unit of that size. About two-thirds of the Northern farmers say they want the farm they buy to contain 100 acres or more. About one-third of the Southern white farmers want a farm of similar size, but less than one-twentieth of the Negro farmers make the same request.

Among non-owners who want to purchase some farm other than the present one, a marked difference appears between Negroes and whites with respect to their wish for help in finding a suitable place. Almost nine out of ten such Negro farmers say "Yes," they would want help or advice; only about half of the white farmers give this answer. White farmers, six to seven times as often as Negro farmers, say definitely they would not want help or advice. It would seem clear from these responses that a plan for tenant aid or farm settlement acceptable to Negro farmers would meet frequent objections from white farmers if applied to them. Such objections would be somewhat more frequent in the North than among white farmers in the South.

The same type of contrast, but to an even more marked degree, appears when this question is raised: "Would you want any advice from

your creditor in running your farm?" Many proposed plans to remedy or improve the condition of farm renters, sharecroppers, and farm laborers include as an important element the idea of supervision by the creditor agency over the person who is being helped. Most Negro farmers would not object appreciably to such assistance and would even welcome it. On the other hand, less than one-half of the white non-owners, both in the North and in the South, would be glad to get the assistance, and over one-third would definitely object to it (Table 3).

Table 3.- Percentages of non-owners who say they would, or would not, want advice from creditor in running farm

Response	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Yes	45.0	39.7	85.5
Uncertain	18.0	25.7	5.8
No	36.9	34.6	8.7
Total number reporting	111	191	207

Parallel with the differences in size are the differences in estimated cost of the farms wanted by Northern and Southern farmers. Less than \$1,000 would cover the cost according to practically one-fourth of Negro non-owners, about one-twentieth of Southern white, and less than one out of each hundred Northern non-owners. On the other hand, \$10,000 or more represents the cost as estimated by Northern farmers in over half the cases, by Southern white farmers in one out of ten cases, and by Negroes in about one out of each hundred cases.

"How much could you pay down on the purchase price?" is the next question, and the answers suggest sharply contrasting economic resources on the part of Northern and Southern farmers. About nine out of ten Southern farmers, both white and Negro, say they would be able to pay down less than \$250 on the farm of their choice, while less than one-half of the Northern farmers specify so little. No Negro non-owners, and only 1 percent of Southern whites, say they could pay as much as \$2,000 toward the purchase of the desired farm. But nearly one-fourth of the Northern farmers say they could make a payment of this size.

The same tendencies reappear in reply to the question regarding size of loan required in order to buy the desired farm. Nearly one-half of the Northern non-owners say they would need loans of \$10,000 or over, while the same proportion of Negro farmers say they would need less than \$1,000. Southern white non-owners in over eight cases out of ten specify amounts between \$1,000 and \$10,000, thus holding a position midway between that of Northern and Negro farmers.

The majority of farmers in each sample population would like to have somewhere between 10 and 30 years in which to repay the loans made to purchase their farms, although Negro farmers are thinking in terms of a shorter period for repayment than white farmers. Even a 10-year period would satisfy less than one white non-owner out of five in the South and less than one out of ten in the North (Table 4).

Table 4.- Percentages of non-owners desiring to purchase farms who specify various numbers of years during which they wish to repay loans

Term of loan preferred	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Under 10 years	9	15	47
10 - 29 years	70	78	51
30 years and over	21	7	2
Total number reporting desire to purchase	192	374	351

Non-owners in the three sample populations differ widely in their concepts of a fair interest rate. What is regarded in the North as exorbitant is thought by Southern Negroes to be only just. Southern whites stand somewhere between the two extremes. Among Negro non-owners interest rates of 6 percent, 8 percent, and 10 percent are specified by nearly equal proportions of prospective borrowers, but in the North none mention a rate higher than 6 percent. On the other hand, one-fourth of the Northern farmers, one-tenth of the Southern whites, and about one-fortieth of Negro farmers specify 3 percent or less as a fair rate.

It was the long-continued, gradual increase in the proportion of farm tenants among all farmers that provoked this study. Although the farmers we interviewed may or may not have known that tenancy has been increasing, it is important to learn whether they think the Federal Government ought to do anything about it. Most farmers think the Government should take a hand, over two-thirds in the North and almost three-fourths in the South holding this opinion. There is a sharp contrast, however, between the proportions of Negroes and whites who think the Government should do nothing about it. About 10 percent in the North, 6 percent among Southern whites, and only 1 percent of Southern Negroes express this opinion (Table 5).

Table 5.- Percentages of farmers who think the Government should, or should not, do something about the increase of tenancy

Response	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Yes	64	74	73
Uncertain	25	17	24
No	11	6	1
Not responding	-	3	2
Total number reporting	687	894	842

In the case of those who think Federal assistance should be given, the next question obviously is: "What should the Government do about it?" Naturally the variety of responses is wide, but one suggestion is made by over half of all Northern farmers who think the Government should do something about the increase of tenancy - in one way or another, they say, credit facilities should be improved. This suggestion is offered more frequently than any other by Southern white farmers as well, although for them this solution does not loom nearly so large as for Northern farmers. The same remedy is proposed by Negro farmers, but much less frequently. Negroes most often urge strongly, without specifying just how, that the Government should aid farmers to become owners. This response, although it is more common among Negroes, is also given by white farmers (Table 6).

Table 6.- Percentages of farmers who think the Government should do something about the increase of tenancy, who give certain suggestions

Suggestions given	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Improve credit facilities	52	29	8
Facilitate ownership by unspecified means	14	21	38
All other suggestions	34	50	54
Total number reporting	442	661	617

The Federal Government has set up several programs designed to aid farmers. What we want to know is this: Do farmers regard these programs with uniform degrees of approval or disapproval? The question raised regarding the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the first of the programs to be considered, is as follows: "Do you favor that

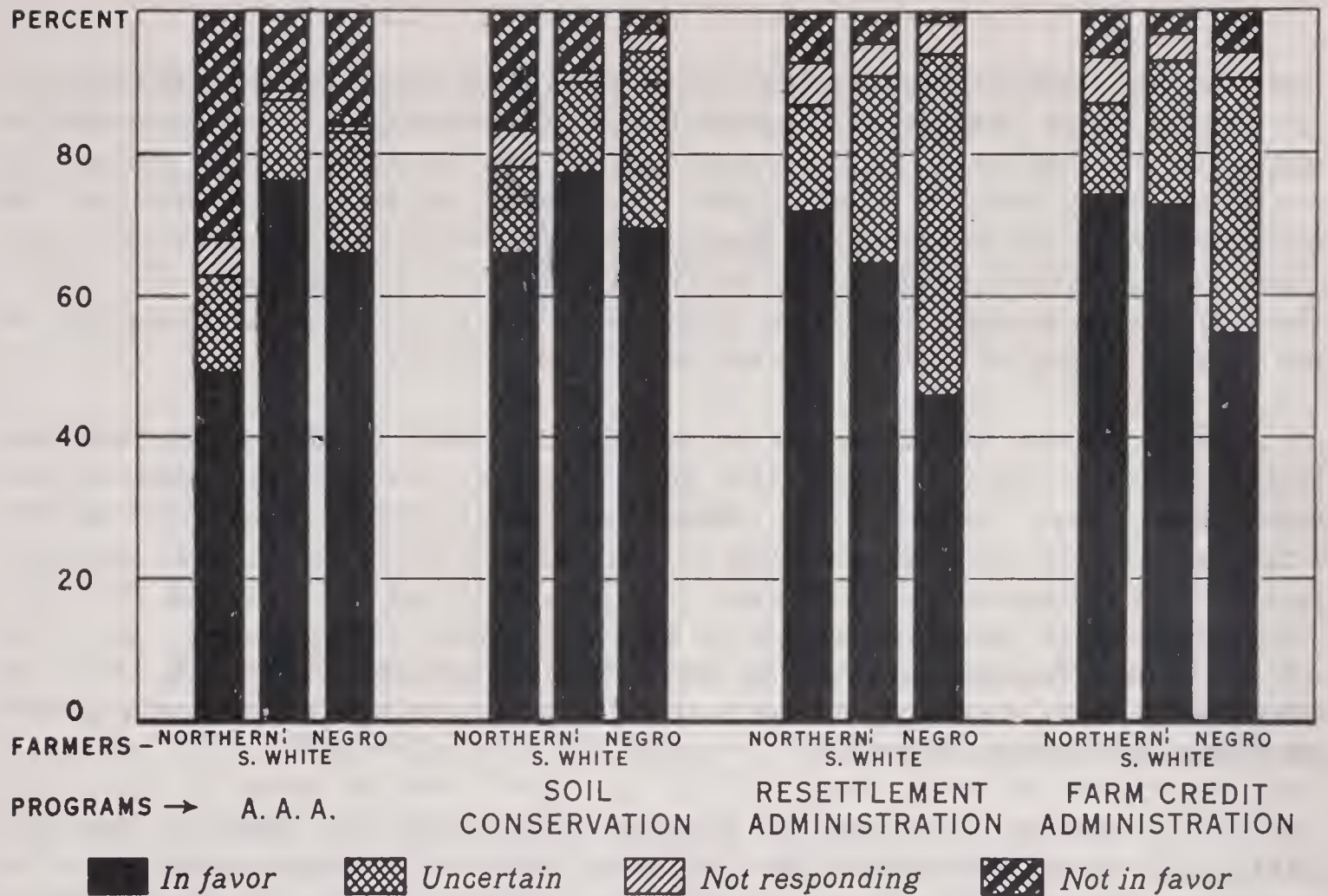
part of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program whereby the Government pays farmers to reduce their crop acreage?" Our information makes it evident that this program, which was in effect with respect to certain cash crops in 1933, 1934, and 1935, received the approval of about one-half of the Northern farmers, three-fourths of the Southern white farmers, and two-thirds of the Negro farmers. It is possible, of course, that if other aspects had been considered the proportion of favorable or unfavorable responses might have been notably modified. 2/

The second question has to do with the Soil Conservation Program: "Do you favor that part of the Soil Conservation Program whereby the Government pays farmers for conserving or improving soil fertility?" From two-thirds to three-fourths of all farmers do favor it, but the proportion who oppose it decreases significantly as we go from Northern farmers through Southern white to Southern Negro farmers (Fig. 4). One of the most frequent objections raised by Northern farmers is that the Government should not pay farmers for doing something which they ought to be doing for themselves.

The third governmental program considered is that of the Resettlement Administration (now the Farm Security Administration). "Do you favor that part of the Resettlement Administration program whereby the Government helps needy farmers 'to get on their feet'?" is the way the question was posed. Because of the large proportion of "uncertain" responses, one might interpret this portion of Figure 4 to suit himself, for the largest proportions both of favorable and of unfavorable responses found in any sample population appear in the North, while the smallest proportions of favorable as well as of unfavorable responses appear among Negroes. The most significant implication of this figure may well be just this: large proportions of Southern farmers apparently know so little about the program of the Resettlement Administration that they are unwilling or unable to give an opinion about it. In the North, on the contrary, farmers are sufficiently familiar with its objectives and functions to make up their minds about it.

The last of the governmental programs about which a question

2/ It is also possible that if the question had been phrased differently, the response might have differed. Though the author took unusual precautions to see that none of the questions contained bias, the point has been raised that Question 22 unwittingly expresses a bias against the program mentioned, whereas Question 26 may by its sympathetic language express a bias towards the program involved. At all events, the schedule should have made clearer than it did (1) that the AAA program mentioned in Question 22 was in effect from 1933 to 1935, but not later; and (2) that the Soil Conservation Program referred to in Question 24 began in 1936 and has since continued as the major AAA program, and is distinct from the demonstrational projects of the Soil Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture.

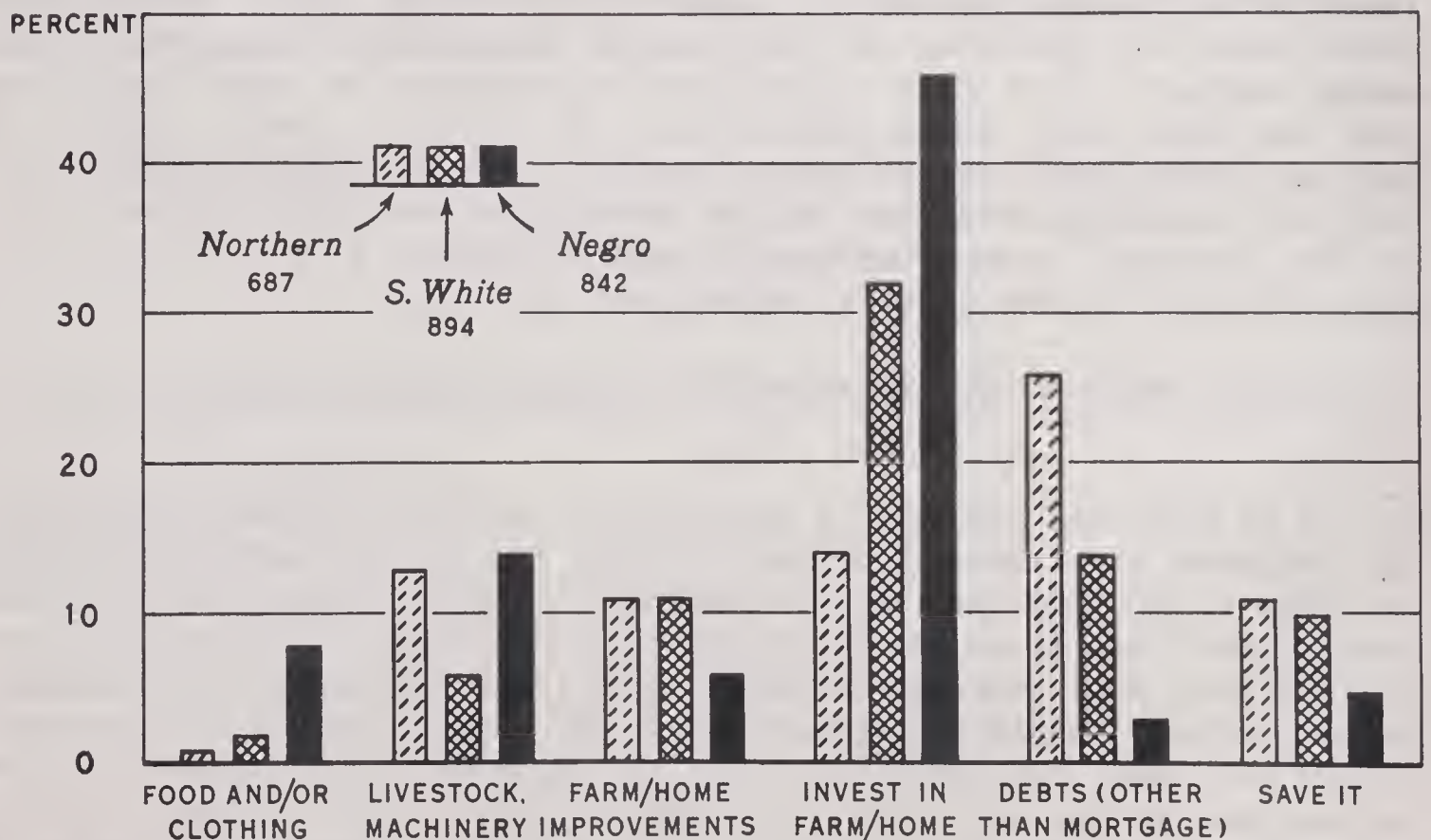


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NEG. 32658

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FIGURE 4.- PERCENTAGES OF INTERVIEWED FARMERS WHO ARE OR ARE NOT IN FAVOR OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF SPECIFIED GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS.



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 32659

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIGURE 5.- PERCENTAGES OF FARMERS WHO SAY THEY WOULD DISPOSE OF HYPOTHETICALLY INHERITED \$500 IN SPECIFIED WAYS.

was raised is the Farm Credit Administration: "Do you favor that part of the Farm Credit Administration program whereby the Government makes loans to farmers?" About three-fourths of white farmers, both North and South, say they are in favor of this program. Negroes again indicate uncertainty too frequently to permit us to judge the relative importance of the favorable and unfavorable responses. Fewer farmers registered definite objections to the Farm Credit Administration than to any of the other programs considered (Fig. 4).

What do farmers think of their own occupation? Do they want their sons to continue as farmers, and, if so, to what tenure class do they want their sons to belong? The first question, "Would you rather farm than do anything else for a living?" is answered affirmatively by about 80 percent of the white farmers and about 86 percent of the Negro farmers. In other words, the large majority of farmers either are carrying on the occupation that they chose for themselves or, if not, they have become so fully reconciled to farming that only rarely would they prefer to do something else for a living.

But when we ask the farmer what he would prefer to have a son do for a living, assuming the farmer had his choice, we get a very different impression. Only about one-third of white farmers definitely express a preference for farming as the occupation they would like their sons to follow, and Negro farmers express this preference only slightly more frequently. Probably the most significant contrast appears when we note the large proportion of Negro farmers who positively prefer some occupation other than farming as first choice for their sons. In fact, nearly half of all Negro farmers give responses of this type. White farmers, on the other hand, more frequently than Negroes, say that they have no preference as to the occupation they would like a son to follow. Northern farmers reflect this "let him decide for himself" attitude more often than white farmers in the South (Table 7). Evidently the white

Table 7.-- Percentages of farmers who prefer farming to other occupation as occupation for son, or have no preference

Preferred occupation	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Farmer	36	35	39
Other occupation	15	21	48
Uncertain	22	21	7
No preference	27	23	5
Total number of cases	687	894	842

farmer, although willing to leave the choice of an occupation considerably up to the son himself, would prefer somewhat more frequently than not to have him become a farmer. For the colored farmer the reverse is true. The satisfactions to be derived from farm life, it would seem, are felt by the Negro in so restricted a measure that he would prefer a son to take his chances at some occupation off the farm.

When we ask those farmers who prefer farming as their sons' occupation whether they would prefer them to be farm owners, we get an almost unanimous "Yes." Over 95 out of 100 in each of the sample populations give this response. Asking this same group of farmers a further question, "Do you think the Government ought to help him to become a farm owner?" we find notable differences between the responses of Northern and Southern white and Negro farmers. The proportion of farmers who definitely think the Government should aid their sons to become farm owners increases markedly as we go from Northern through Southern white to Negro farmers. Conversely, the proportion who believes the Government should not aid in this process increases from an insignificant percentage among Negro farmers to 15 percent of all responses in the North (Table 8).

Table 8.- Percentages of farmers preferring sons to be farm owners who think that the Government should, or should not, aid sons to farm ownership

Response	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Government should aid sons	61.2	79.1	93.9
Uncertain	23.8	15.8	4.8
Government should not aid sons	15.0	5.1	1.2
Total number reporting	240	316	330

What are some of the respects in which farmers feel their lot could be improved? According to one school of thought, the basic problem of the farmer is to look after his land as all other difficulties will then more or less take care of themselves. From this point of view it is desirable to know what farmers themselves think of the care they are giving the soil. What does the farmer have to say about his present farming practices? Are these practices improving the soil, not affecting its fertility, or harming it? Roughly two-thirds of the farmers in each sample population say that they are building up the soil, one-fifth state that they are not affecting its fertility, and about one in ten admits that he is harming the soil by wearing it out or allowing it to run down. Evidently it would take much persuasion to

convince most farmers that their lot could be improved by means of new or additional soil-conserving or soil-building practices alone.

The second of these questions, designed to find out how farmers themselves think they can best be helped, concerns size of present farm: "Do you think you would be better off if your farm were bigger?" It is answered affirmatively by one-half of the Negro farmers, but by less than one-third of the white farmers, North as well as South (Table 9). A substantial majority of white farmers clearly do not think they would be better off if they had bigger farms.

Table 9.- Percentages of farm operators who think they would, or would not, be better off if their farms were bigger

Preference	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Prefer bigger farm	30.7	28.2	49.9
Uncertain	11.8	10.9	7.4
Do not prefer bigger farm	56.3	58.4	40.6
No response	1.1	2.5	2.0
Total number of farm operators	618	841	753

Another problem vitally concerning many a farmer is that of credit. Accordingly, we asked, "Are you satisfied with your present credit arrangements?" The proportion of Negro farmers who find their present credit arrangements unsatisfactory is strikingly larger than that appearing among white farmers, both in the North and in the South (Table 10). This question was followed, whenever the response received

Table 10.- Percentages of farmers who are, or are not, satisfied with their present credit arrangements

Response	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Satisfied	72.9	73.4	48.7
Uncertain and not reporting	5.5	6.1	6.7
Not satisfied	21.5	20.6	44.7
Total number reporting	687	894	842

by the interviewer was an expression of dissatisfaction, by an inquiry as to the type of change the farmer would like to see brought about. The replies to this question give us some notion at least as to how present credit arrangements could be modified to make them more satisfactory to the farmer. Although the largest proportion of responses in each sample population has to do with lowering the interest rate, the importance of that type of modification in credit arrangements is relatively much greater for Northern farmers than for Southern farmers. The need for increased amounts of credit is felt by farmers in all three sample populations, but the credit shoe pinches Negro farmers more painfully than white farmers in this respect. Of the numerous other types of suggestions included in the responses, the most frequent is, "Give us more time for repaying our loans" (Table 11).

Table 11.- Percentages of farmers dissatisfied with present credit arrangements who suggest specified types of changes

Suggestions	: : Northern	: : Southern white	: : Negro
Lower interest rate	75	50	46
Increased amount of obtainable credit	10	15	26
Longer period for repayment	5	3	5
All other responses	10	32	23
Total number reporting	148	184	376

To understand more clearly both the nature of dissatisfactions that farmers feel with respect to their present circumstances and the way in which the various tenure classes look at their neighbors, we asked this question: "Compared with the average farmer in this neighborhood, do you think your family is better off, about the same as the average, or worse off?" Most farmers in each of the three sample populations think their families are about the same as the average, but the proportion who regard themselves as worse off than the average increases as we proceed from Northern white through Southern white to Negro farmers. On the other hand, there is an increasing proportion of those who feel a definite superiority to the average as we go back from Negro through Southern white to Northern farmers (Table 12).

In what respects do those families who feel better off or worse off than the average think they are so differentiated from their neighbors? White farmers, both North and South, feel better off or worse off primarily because of their financial conditions. But this seems to be about the only point of similarity. General living conditions are

Table 12.- Percentages of farmers who think their families as compared with other families in the same neighborhood are better off, worse off, or about the same as the average

Opinion	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Better off	19.1	11.2	7.2
Average	75.1	76.4	65.8
Worse off	5.7	11.5	26.0
No report	.1	.9	1.0
Total number of cases	687	894	842

mentioned twice as often as financial conditions by Negroes who feel better off than the average. Moreover, they are practically as cogent as financial conditions in inducing some Negroes to feel worse off than the average. The striking point to be noted in the responses of Negro farmers is the relative importance of food, clothing, or food and clothing together, as a means of measuring either superiority or inferiority. White farmers, both North and South, seem to take adequate food and clothing so much for granted that they mention such necessities only very rarely, but out of every five Negro farmers who feel worse off than the average, one holds these basic needs foremost in his mind (Table 13).

Table 13.- Percentages of farmers saying their families are better off or worse off than the average in the same neighborhood who indicate certain respects in which they are better off or worse off

Item	: Northern		: Southern white		: Negro	
	: Better	: Worse	: Better	: Worse	: Better	: Worse
	: off	: off	: off	: off	: off	: off
Financial condition	47	46	36	35	15	28
General living condition	21	5	19	20	31	25
Home and/or land	15	0	28	11	25	4
Food and/or clothing	2	3	3	2	12	19
Health	0	3	1	8	0	4
Total number reporting	131	39	100	103	61	212

Another question throwing light on this same problem is: "If you inherited \$500 today what would you do with it?" The answers to this question, representing in a way an imaginary next step toward the farmer's ideal standard of living, are revealing; but at the same time they are consistent with the information we have already presented. Food and clothing as something to buy with that \$500 windfall are mentioned much more often by Negroes than by whites, and by Southern whites more frequently than by Northern farmers. Paying off debts looms large in the minds of Northern farmers, whereas Southern farmers think first of investing in a farm or home, nearly one-third of the Southern whites giving this response (Fig. 5, p.16).

The next question was framed in a general way in order to learn whether farmers tend to think exclusively in terms of tenure classes, of education versus lack of education, of Negro versus white, and so on. The question was, "What class of people around here do you think is worst off?" It is impossible, unfortunately, to interpret the responses to this question as we had hoped. The farmer frequently did not understand what the field agent was talking about when he spoke of "class of people"; and the field agent, in trying to clarify the question, found it difficult to avoid giving some suggestion, often through illustration, as to the type of answer that might be given. Nevertheless, some significant differences between the responses given by the three sample populations should be pointed out.

The proportion who think that farm owners are worse off than any other rural class is far greater among Northern than Southern farmers, either Negro or white. Among Negroes, croppers and laborers are most frequently said to be worst off. As might be expected, Negro farmers specify "Negroes" as being the worst off much more frequently than do white farmers in the South, ^{3/} while Northern farmers naturally mention Negroes not at all. It may also cause no surprise to learn that Southern white farmers say "shiftless" people are worst off more frequently than do either Northern or Negro farmers. The generalized response, "We are all bad off around here," comes most often from Northern farmers, and least often from Negro farmers. Since this response suggests the absence of differentiation along tenure-class lines, it would seem that tenure-class differences are of decreasing importance as we go from Negro through Southern white to Northern farmers.

What does the farmer think causes one class or another to be the worst off? If he is willing to say that he thinks some particular class is definitely worst off, which is usually the case, it is reasonable to suppose that he has in mind some cause or causes fundamentally

^{3/} According to the supervisor of the colored field agents, Charles G. Gomillion, it is highly probable that the frequency of this response is far lower than it might have been if explanations of the question by the enumerators had been given less often in terms of tenure classes.

responsible for its relative plight. Whether his notion is valid or not, the farmer, like everyone else, acts in accordance with his best judgment and understanding of the way things work. Our inquiry was therefore phrased as follows: "What do you think causes them (that is, the worst-off class of people) to be worst off?" The most arresting finding is the frequency with which Negro farmers think of unfairness or injustice as the causative factor. That low wages or low income in general are responsible is the only other type of response given more often by Negroes. Over one-third of Northern farmers do not single out a certain class as worst off, which in itself is a significant finding. But of the Northern farmers who do specify some class as worst off, only one in a hundred mentions unfair treatment as a cause; the proportion among Southern whites is over one in twenty, and among Negroes, over one in six. Low wages or low income are important causes according to farmers in all three sample populations, but Negroes give this factor about twice as often as whites. Irregular work, inability to get work on a farm, or inability to get a farm to work constitute another significantly sizable category of responses. Unsatisfactory credit arrangements are mentioned by Northern farmers much more frequently than by Southern farmers (Table 14).

Table 14.- Percentages of farmers specifying various causes for certain classes being "worst off"

Causes specified	:	:	:
	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Crop failure	4.8	8.1	1.1
Depression, low prices	3.1	3.1	.7
Crop reduction, AAA	.1	1.6	1.1
Low wages, low income	12.2	10.6	21.0
Irregular work, unemployment	7.4	13.4	10.0
Credit arrangements	12.2	3.1	2.5
Unfairness, injustice	.7	5.3	17.7
Bad management, shiftlessness	6.9	13.0	2.2

In view of these differences in thinking and others already pointed out, we feel it necessary to treat the tenure classes of the three sample populations separately. To combine owners, renters, croppers, and farm laborers from the North with those from the South, to consider whites together with Negroes, would serve to conceal just what we are trying to reveal. The evidence is in, and we can answer the question put at the beginning of this chapter. These differences in the thinking of the three sample populations and other differences already pointed out make it necessary to treat the tenure classes separately.

The Agricultural Ladder and Lifetime Patterns of Behavior

In this section we want to try to answer the question, "How similar are the lifetime patterns followed by Negro and white farmers in the South, and by farmers in the North?" Better known than any other figure of speech by which the economic lifetime pattern of the farmer's behavior has been expressed is the phrase, "climbing the agricultural ladder." Although this expression is possibly less accurate today than it was once, we shall use it freely for want of a better one. The idea represented by the term is simply this: the farmer, supposedly starting his career as a hired man, climbs, by means of industry and perseverance backed by dauntless ambition, through the stages of cropper and renter to ultimate farm ownership. Throughout the report we shall consider owners to be at the top of the agricultural ladder, renters just below, croppers next, and farm laborers at the bottom rung.

Suppose we place in one category all those farmers who now occupy a lower status than the highest they have ever achieved, and in another those who at the present time are in a tenure status as high as they have ever attained. Immediately we find a substantial difference between Southern and Northern farmers. Over 15 percent of the former and less than 10 percent of the latter report that their present tenure class represents for them a drop in status from the highest ever attained. If we consider only present non-owners, however, we find that 28 percent of Southern whites report the same type of drop from highest status ever attained, while this is true of only 20 percent of Northern, and less than 20 percent of Negro non-owners. On this basis, white non-owners in the South seem to be relatively worse off than those in the North and contrary to the common impression, worse off than Negro non-owners. About one of every five Northern and Negro non-owners, and about one of every four Southern white non-owners, once occupied a rung on the agricultural ladder higher than that he now claims.

Suppose, instead of two groups, we make three groups out of each sample population. If we place in the first all those farmers who have climbed higher than the rung from which they started their farming career, in the second all those who today occupy the same rung as in the beginning, and in the third those who have fallen to a rung lower than the one they held at first, we again find the least fortunate group larger in the South than in the North. Less than two out of one hundred Northern farmers report a lower tenure status at present than when they began farming, but in the South over eight out of one hundred farmers, both white and Negro, report histories of that type. In other words, on the basis of this second comparison the unfortunate farmers are relatively four times as frequent in the South, regardless of race, as in the North. This second comparison also brings out another noteworthy sample population difference: the proportion of all farmers who, in the course of their lifetimes up to the present, have actually succeeded in climbing higher than the stage at which they began on the tenure ladder is much larger in the North than in the South. There are about three

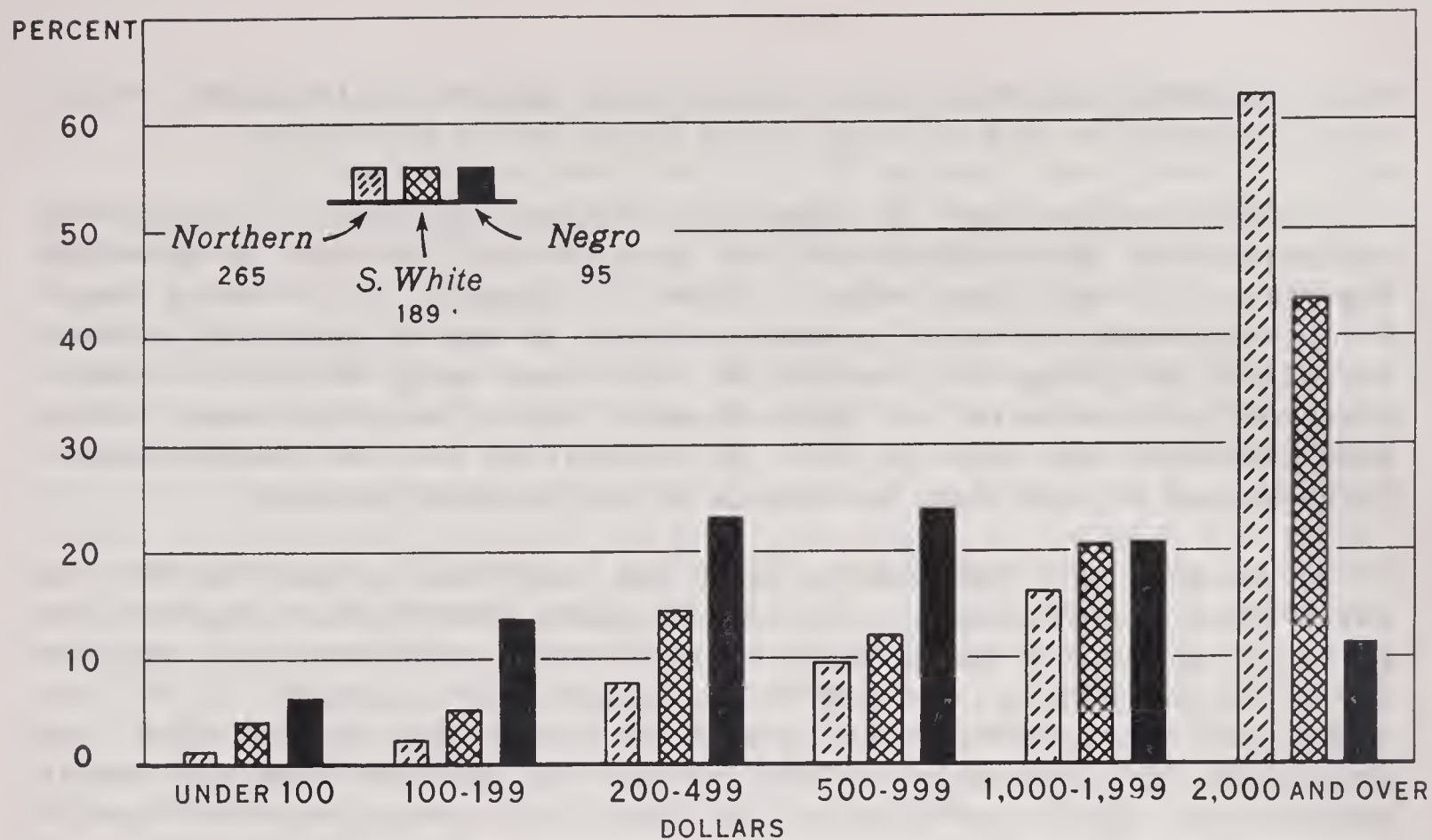
such successful climbers out of every five farmers in the North, while there are only two out of five in the South, white or colored.

Many factors must be taken into account to give a satisfactory explanation of the differences just pointed out, but one of undoubted importance is the inheritance of cash or property. For every Negro farmer who reports receiving such a boost up the agricultural ladder, there are two among Southern white, and three among Northern farmers. Practically nine-tenths of Negro farmers report no inheritance of any kind, whereas the same is true of four-fifths of the Southern white farmers, and of less than two-thirds of the Northern farmers.

Looking into the cash value of the inheritances reported, we find still further differences. One out of every four Northern farmers reports an inheritance worth \$2,000 or more, while this is true of only one in ten Southern white, and one in one hundred Negro farmers. If we consider only those farmers who receive an inheritance of some kind, the percentage distribution shows even greater differences among the sample populations. While one-third of the Negro farmers who inherited cash or property report the value of the inheritance as being \$1,000 or over, two-thirds of Southern white, and four-fifths of Northern farmers report an inheritance of this value. At the other end of the range of values, about one out of twenty Northern, two out of twenty Southern white, and four out of twenty Negro farmers report the value of the inheritance as less than \$200. It rather seems that the Northern farmer is inclined to make use of an elevator in his ascent of the agricultural ladder. But we must bear in mind that, to achieve his goal of ownership, the Northern farmer usually has to pay much more for farm land than his Southern cousin; hence the "elevator" idea may not be so apt after all.

In the final comparison to be made on this topic, a distribution of inheritors by value of inheritance, we find that inheritance values are fairly well accounted for among Negro inheritors by the categories we have used. Among white farmers, however, and especially among those in the North, the upper limit is far too low to reveal clearly how the inheritances are distributed with respect to value (Fig. 6).

So far we have discussed only one element, though certainly an important one, in the farmer's lifetime pattern of behavior. Some of the other elements to be found in the characteristic lifetime pattern are as follows: the amount of schooling the farmer and his wife were able to secure, the ages at which they left their parental homes, the ages at which they married, and the tenure-class origin of the farmer's bride. We want to know whether farmers and their wives in the three sample populations are of about the same age; whether the families of which these farmers are heads have the same general characteristics; whether present marriage unions have lasted about the same length of time in each sample population; and how the size of resident family and of household compare in the three groups of farmers.

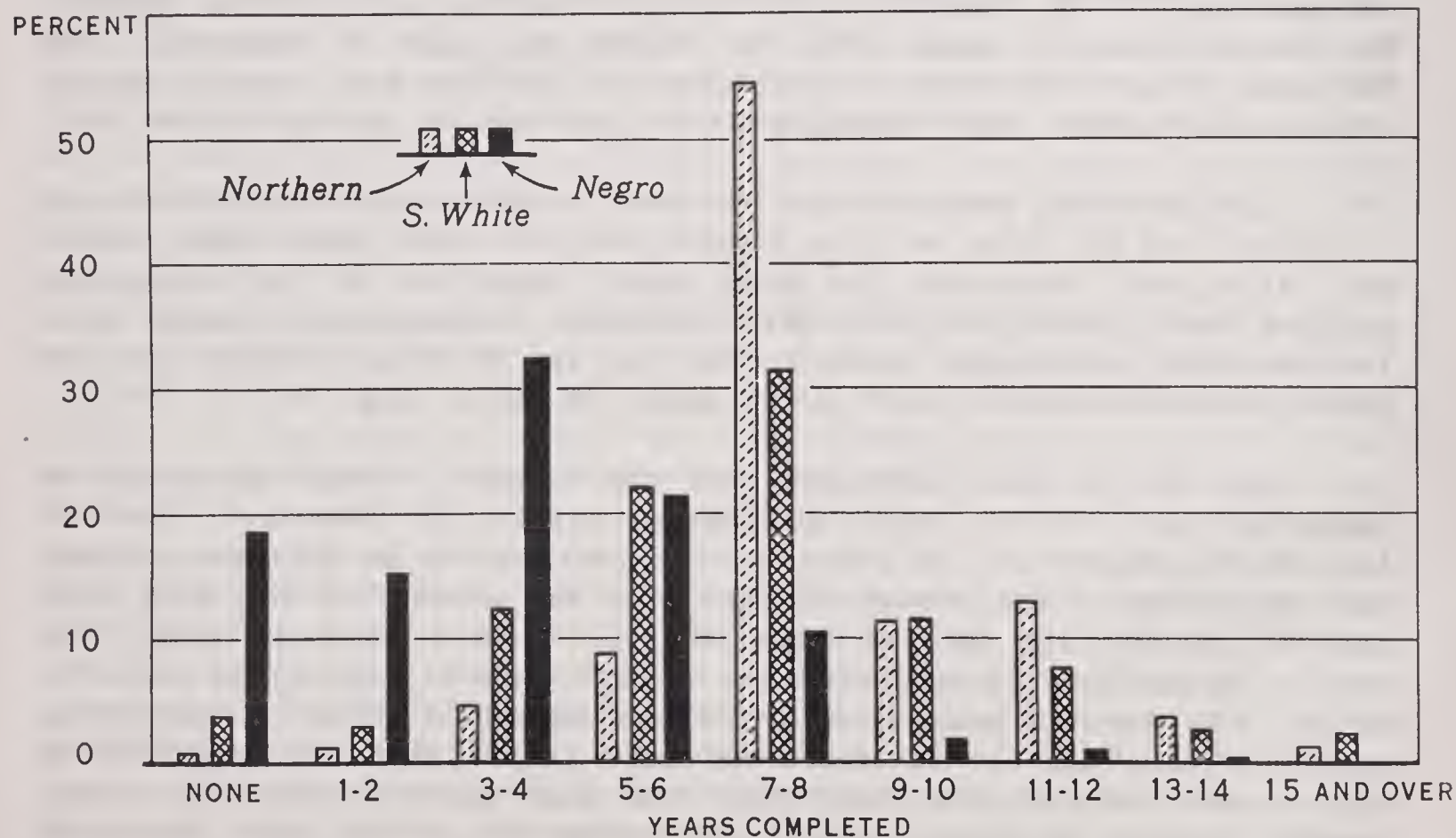


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NEG. 32669

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FIGURE 6.- PERCENTAGES OF FARMERS WHO INHERITED CASH OR PROPERTY, CLASSIFIED BY VALUE OF INHERITANCE.



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 32670

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FIGURE 7.- PERCENTAGES OF FARMERS WHO REPORT HAVING COMPLETED SPECIFIED NUMBERS OF YEARS OF SCHOOLING.

There seems to be no very great difference between the amount of schooling received by white farmers in the North and that received by those in the South. But fewer Negro farmers have received any formal education, and the educational attainments of these are decidedly lower than those of the whites. The median ^{4/} number of grades completed by the Northern farmers is 8.3, and by their wives, 8.7; among the Southern white farmers, it is 7.4 and among their wives, 8.3, the median number of grades completed by Negro farmers, however, is only 4.0, and by their wives, 5.0. Figure 7 shows the proportions of men and women in the three sample populations who report having completed various numbers of years of schooling.

To determine what farmers think of the education they themselves received, this question was asked: "Do you wish you had had more schooling?" From the responses it would seem clear that the Northern farmer was able mostly to satisfy his wish for education, the Southern white farmer somewhat less, and the Negro farmer least adequately (Table 15).

Table 15.- Percentages of farmers' responses
to the question, "Do you wish you had
had more schooling?"

Response	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Yes	70.1	85.7	96.7
Uncertain	11.2	7.3	1.0
No	18.1	6.3	1.4
No data	.4	.3	.8

One further question along this line was raised: "How much schooling do you think a son ought to have?" The responses in this case show a marked similarity between white farmers, North and South, and a sig-

^{4/} It may be well to explain what is meant by the term "median." If we were to arrange all the farmers from one sample population on the basis of the number of years of schooling they had completed, placing at the head of the row those who had completed the largest number of years, and at the foot those who had completed the fewest, then the person who stood exactly midway between the extreme head and the extreme foot of the line would be the one who had received the median amount of education. Although the median is less commonly known than the average, it is sometimes more useful than the average because it is not so much influenced by unusually large or small values. If you are not acquainted with the term, you will not be far off in substituting "typical" or "average" whenever we use "median."

nificant difference on the part of Negro farmers. About one-third of the white farmers think a son should have a college education, although one-half regard a high school education as sufficient. Negro farmers, on the other hand, in about one-third of all cases, give a response which cannot be classified in terms of the educational hierarchy; they say they want a son to have all the education he can get. About one-fourth specify high school, and another fourth, college educations (Table 16).

Table 16.- Percentages of farmers reporting various amounts of schooling desired for son

Amount of schooling	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Grade school	4.2	3.6	4.5
High school	47.0	50.0	24.7
College	35.0	32.9	27.6
Uncertain	6.6	3.5	8.3
Other	6.6	9.6	34.2
Not reported	.6	.4	.7

One of the most important turning points in a person's lifetime is that day when he leaves his parental home to attempt to make his way for himself. It is well known that girls usually leave their homes at an earlier age than boys. It is not so well known, however, that there are consistent differences between Northern, Southern white, and Southern Negro farm people, both males and females, both in the older and the younger generations, with respect to the average age at which they leave home. In every sex and generation category, Negro farm people leave home at the youngest average age, Northern farm people at the oldest average age, and Southern whites fall about midway between. There are consistent differences between the younger generation and the older generation, the younger people in every comparison leaving home at an earlier age than their parents did. Along with the increased mechanization of farming, the need for help on the farm has doubtless declined, thus affecting the age at which young people leave home (Table 17).

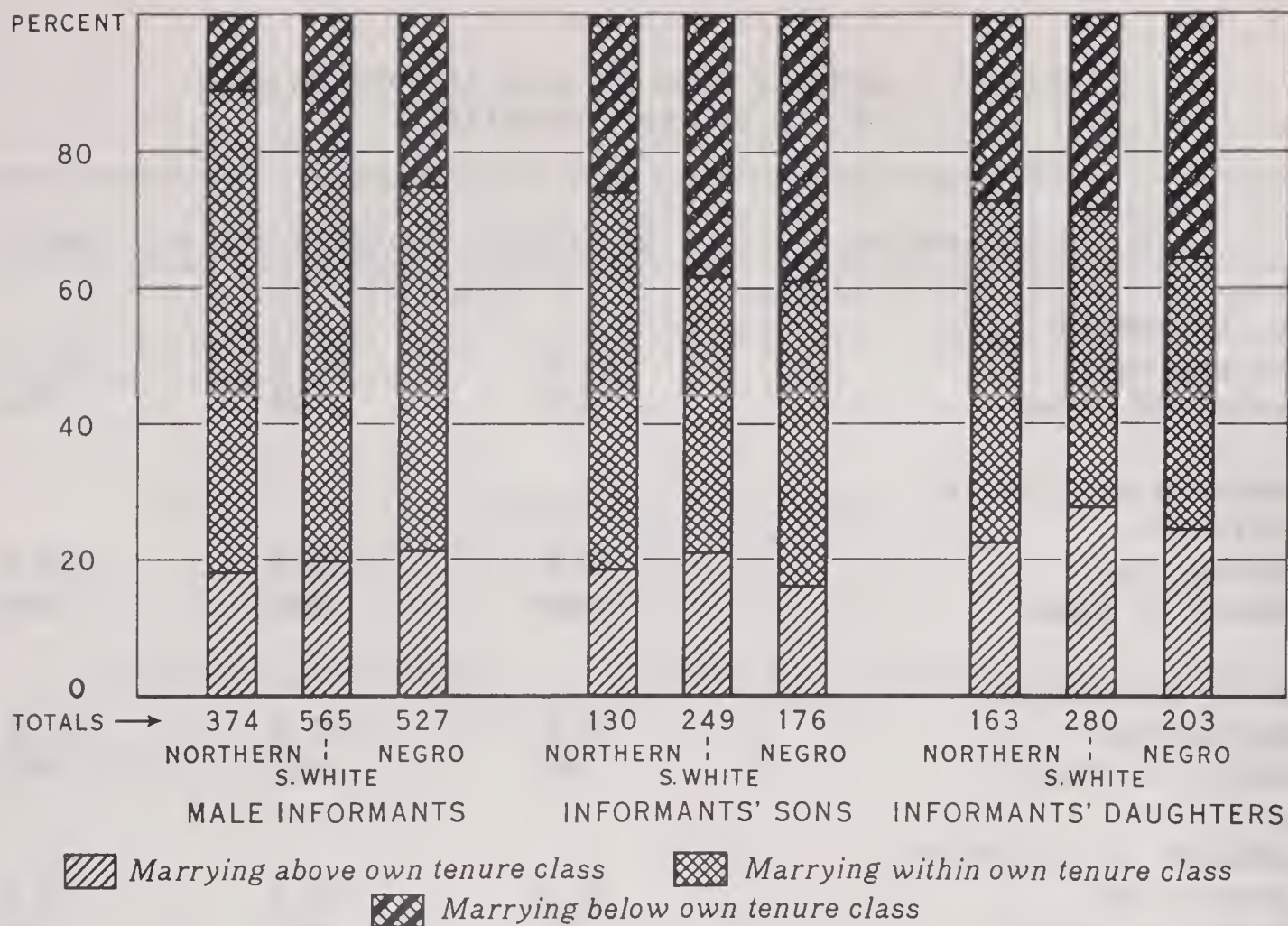
After a person leaves home, the next important milestone in his career is usually the finding of a mate. The age at which this takes place, like the age at departure from home, differs consistently among the three sample populations. Regardless of sex or of generation, Negroes marry at the earliest age on the average, Northern whites marry at the latest age, and Southern whites marry at an age somewhere between these two extremes. Consistent differences appear between generations in regard to the average age at first marriage, members of the younger generation regularly marrying earlier than their parents did (Table 18).

Table 17.- Average ages at time of leaving home
by sex and by generation

Sex and generation	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Male informants:			
Average age	21.9	21.6	20.5
Number of cases	576	660	634
Homemakers and female informants:			
Average age	20.6	19.8	19.3
Number of cases	587	683	552
Sons of informants:			
Average age	21.6	20.9	20.1
Number of cases	249	413	269
Daughters of informants:			
Average age	20.4	19.3	18.4
Number of cases	321	479	309

Table 18.- Average ages at time of first marriage
by sex and by generation

Sex and generation	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Male informants:			
Average age	25.1	23.9	22.1
Number of cases	617	808	752
Homemakers and female informants:			
Average age	21.7	20.2	19.8
Number of cases	598	816	698
Sons of informants:			
Average age	23.2	22.1	20.9
Number of cases	225	392	257
Daughters of informants:			
Average age	20.9	19.4	18.5
Number of cases	281	462	312

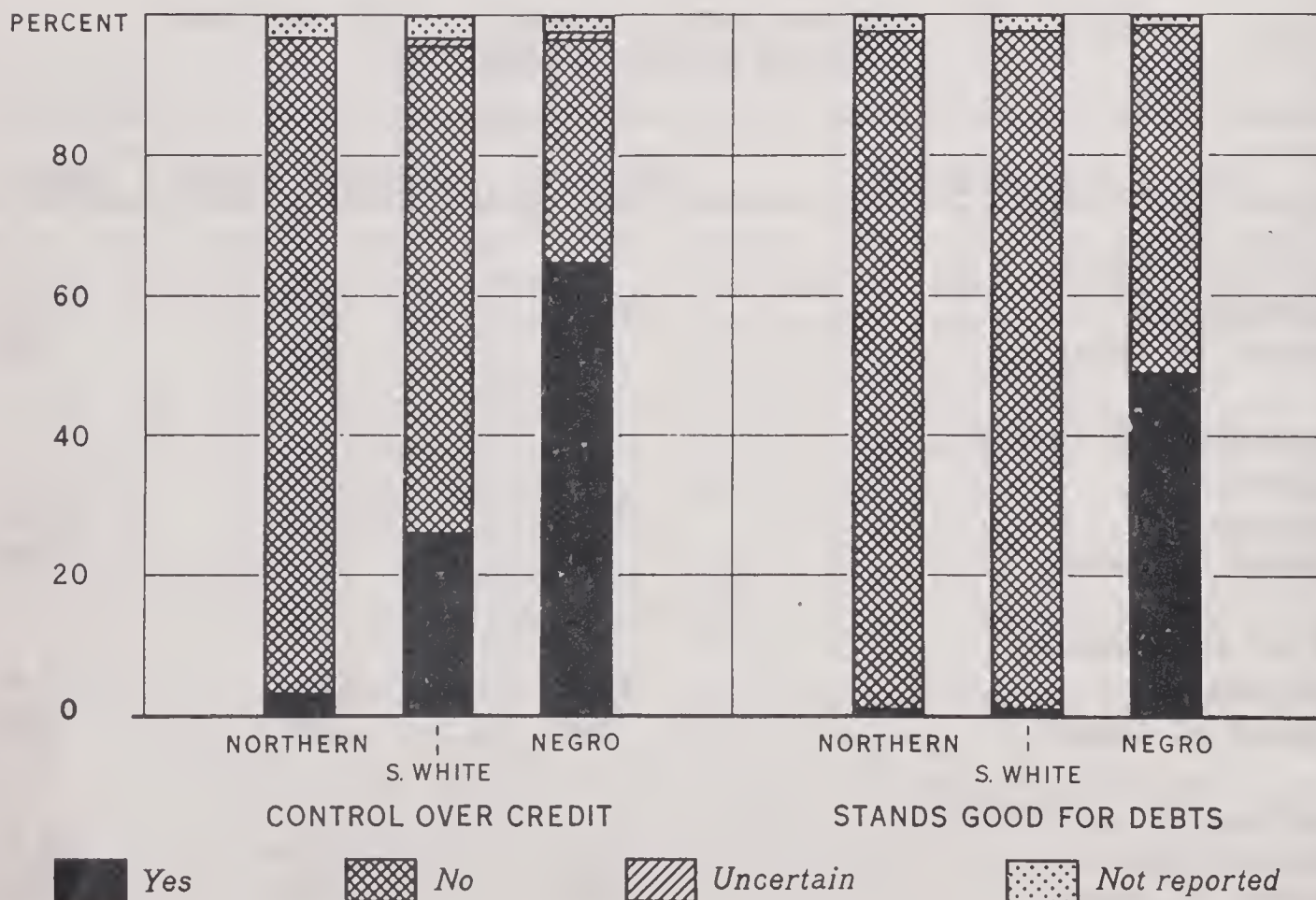


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FIGURE 8.— PERCENTAGES OF MALE INFORMANTS AND THEIR SONS AND DAUGHTERS MARRYING ABOVE, WITHIN, OR BELOW THEIR OWN TENURE CLASS.



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FIGURE 9.— PERCENTAGES OF TENANTS/EMPLOYEES REPORTING LANDLORD/EMPLOYER HAS CONTROL OVER OPERATING CREDIT, AND STANDS GOOD FOR TENANTS'/EMPLOYEES' DEBTS.

What are the influences that operate in the farmer's selection of his mate? What is most important may vary from time to time and from place to place, but it is probable that tenure class is never unimportant. 5/ The largest percentage in each of the three sample populations secured their mates within their own tenure class, but the percentage marrying below their own tenure status decreases as we go from Negro through Southern white to Northern farmers. Comparisons of the three sample populations with respect to the same question in the case of informants' sons and daughters who have already left home and married shows the same general situation. This difference, however, may be noted: young farm people today marry below their tenure status considerably more often and above their tenure status slightly more often than did their parents.. This tendency is most pronounced among Southern whites. The fact that daughters tend to marry into a higher tenure class more frequently, and into a lower tenure class less frequently, than sons suggests several possibilities. Offhand, we may say either that upper-tenure-class daughters prefer not to be the wives of farmers' sons or that the upper-tenure-class sons may be aided in securing brides from lower-tenure-class families by means of their higher-tenure status advantages (Fig. 8).

If we compare the average age of all farmers, men and women separately, in the three sample populations, we find the same type of age differences, as has been pointed out before. Northern farmers represent the oldest group, Negroes the youngest, with Southern whites occupying a middle position. It is obvious that this basic difference in present average age is related to a number of other factors, some of which may be pointed out briefly.

The first of these closely related factors is the duration in years of the marriage union to which the farmer now belongs. Over one-third of Negro farmers' families have existed for less than ten years, while this is true of just one-fourth of Southern white and of less than one-fifth of Northern farmers' families (Table 19).

It does not follow, however, that the median family in the North, since it has lasted longest, therefore consists of the largest number of members. Although Northern farm families have existed longer on the average than those in the South, either white or Negro, still they include the largest proportion of small families and the smallest proportion of large families (Table 20).

5/ The tenure classes recognized for this purpose were owner, renter, cropper, and farm laborer. The tenure statuses occupied by the parents of the bride and the groom at the time of their marriage were the criteria used.

Table 19.- Percentage distribution of families by duration of present marriage union

Duration in years	:	:	:
	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Under 10 years	18.3	24.7	34.6
10 - 19 years	23.6	24.3	24.9
20 - 29 years	28.4	26.9	20.3
30 - 39 years	19.0	15.7	12.6
40 - 49 years	8.2	7.2	6.3
50 - 59 years	2.2	1.3	1.4
60 - 69 years	.2	-	-
Total number marriage unions <u>1/</u>	584	778	700

1/ Omitting all marriage unions for which information is not available.

Table 20.- Percentage distribution of families by number of resident members

Number of resident members	:	:	:
	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
One	5.8	3.2	6.4
Two	30.9	20.7	27.7
Three	25.8	22.7	18.4
Four	17.9	19.1	14.7
Five	9.2	11.4	9.0
Six	5.4	8.7	7.7
Seven	2.6	6.3	4.6
Eight	1.3	3.2	4.9
Nine	.1	1.8	2.9
Ten and over	1.0	2.8	3.7
Total number of families	687	894	842

When all families in the three sample populations are classified according to type, striking similarities appear among the Negroes and the Southern whites while families in the North offer various contrasts to those in either of the other two groups. A family is classified as simple, intact, and incomplete if not more than two generations are present, if both husband and wife are present, and if the wife is under 45 years of age. In spite of the fact that Southern families are larger than Northern families, more intact families appear in the South than in the North (Table 21).

Table 21.- Percentage distribution of families
by type

Type of family	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Simple, intact, incomplete	39.8	52.9	56.0
Simple, intact, complete	39.2	32.6	23.9
Husband absent	3.8	4.9	6.3
Wife absent	1.7	2.7	4.3
Complex	9.3	2.7	5.7
Brothers and/or sisters	1.7	1.8	.4
One member	4.5	2.3	3.6
Total number of families	687	894	842

In the North, there are just as many complete families as are incomplete, but in the South the proportion of complete families falls far below that of incomplete families. In other words, the sample population differences in family size previously pointed out only begin to tell the story of differential population productivity on Northern and Southern farms.

Landlord-Tenant Relationships

Since we are primarily concerned with the extent to which tenure classes are alike or different in North and South, and among Negroes and whites, one of the most significant subjects we may consider is that of landlord-tenant relationships. If the landlord is practically a supervisor of the tenant, if the tenant is practically another wage hand, then the social status of the tenant will be vastly different from that of the landlord. On the other hand, if the tenant runs his farm practically as though it were his own, if he sees his landlord only once in a while, and if, when they do come together, the landlord does not give strict orders but simply discusses conditions on the farm, then clearly the difference between the status of the tenant and the landlord is not nearly so great. Our problem, accordingly, is this: to what extent do landlord-tenant relationships in the three sample populations reveal one or the other of the two types of situations just indicated?

The question we put to non-owning farmers is as follows: "In general what does your landlord have to say about your farming oper-

ations?" 6/ Nearly one-third of the Negro non-owners say that they are given strict orders as to what should be done in running their farms. About one out of ten in the white groups gives the same type of response. The proportion of those who say their landlord simply "discusses problems" with them rises to nearly one-third among Northern non-owners, and drops to about one-tenth among Southern non-owners, both white and colored. The proportions who say that their landlord leaves the decisions entirely up to them show a still different pattern: nearly three-fourths of the white non-owners in the South reply in this way, while fewer (about two-fifths) of Northern and Negro non-owners give the same response.

When we ask landlords and employers of farm hands the comparable question, that is: "In general, what do you have to say about the farming operation of your tenant or employee?" we get a somewhat different story. 7/ Practically one-fourth of the Southern white landlords state that they give strict orders to their tenants or farm laborers while the proportion drops to one-twentieth among Northern and also among Negro landlords or employers. In other words, according to landlords, strict orders are given about five times as often by Southern white as by Negro or Northern landlords. Two out of five landlords in the North say that they simply discuss problems with their tenants, while among Southern white landlords only one in ten makes a similar statement. To put it still differently, four times as many Northern as Southern white landlords reply in this way. It is also worthy of notice that this response is almost twice as frequent among Northern landlords as the response, "I leave decisions entirely up to him." That is to say, there is much more give and take, much more real discussion, between landlord and tenant than there is either of ordering and obeying on the one hand, or of leaving each other strictly alone on the other hand. Thus our figures point to a fundamental difference in living social relationships, the tissue out of which have grown fundamentally different organic social structures.

6/ In case the man being interviewed was a farm laborer, the term "employer" was used in place of "landlord."

7/ We must remember that, while the relationship between tenant and/or farm laborer and landlord-employer will be of only one type when we are talking to the tenant or farm laborer, several types of relationships may be involved when we are talking to the landlord. The landlord may be renting to different tenants with entirely different arrangements involving widely different types of relationships in each case. It was not easy to deal with such complex situations, but whenever we found a landlord actually renting on more than one basis, we attempted to secure information only with respect to the single tenant who had been renting from the landlord for the longest period of time. This procedure introduces a biasing element in our data from landlords, it is true, but to introduce a consistent bias is not so bad as to be inconsistent in the treatment of complex cases.

Closely related to the previous topic is this question: "How often does the landlord or employer, or a representative, come to the farm and discuss 8/ farming operations with the tenant or employee?" (See Table 22.) It is obvious that there is greater similarity between the figures for white and colored in the South than between those for Southern and Northern farmers. Beginning with the category of most frequent visits by landlord (daily) and progressing through the categories of less frequent visits, we find that Northern non-owners report daily visits, visits several times a week, and visits every week less often than do Southern non-owners, either white or colored. On the other hand, there are far fewer Southern than Northern non-owners who report visits by landlord only several times a year or not at all. In the South, however, Negro non-owners report frequent visits by landlord relatively more often, and infrequent visits less often, than do whites.

Table 22.- Percentage distribution of frequency of
landlord's/employer's visits to farm, as re-
ported by tenants/employees

Frequency of visits	:	:	:
	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Daily	20	40	44
Several times per week	5	16	22
Weekly	6	10	14
Every two weeks	3	3	3
Every three weeks	1	2	1
Monthly	8	7	8
Several times per year	37	14	7
Never	19	8	1
Total number reporting	288	164	400

In the preceding paragraphs we have been considering all non-owners together, but everyone knows that the laborer and the tenant ordinarily do not have the same relationship to the landlord. The laborer is paid a fixed amount for doing what he is told, whereas the tenant takes more or less of the risk involved in the gamble of farming

8/ Although it is difficult to squeeze into a single word the wide range of types of relationships involved in the visits of landlords to their farms and in the interaction between the landlords and tenants on those occasions, nevertheless the term "discuss" is probably as satisfactory as any.

along with the owner, and, within limits, may exercise his judgment independently. Accordingly, we must consider the frequency of visits by landlords and employers separately in the case of tenants and laborers.

This comparison intensifies the previously indicated difference in status of the Southern and the Northern tenant. About one in twenty Northern tenants reports being visited daily by his landlord, whereas this frequency is reported by over one in four Southern white, and over one in three Negro tenants. Seventy-five percent, or three-fourths, of the Negro tenants are visited by their landlords once a week or oftener, while this frequency is reported by 57 percent of Southern white, and only 14 percent of Northern tenants. At the other extreme with respect to frequency of landlords' visits, practically three-fourths of all Northern tenants say they are visited either "never" or only "several times a year." This is true of only one-tenth of the Negro tenants and less than one-third of the white tenants in the South (Table 23). In all three sample populations the proportions of laborers who report that employers visit them with varying frequencies are similar, the majority reporting daily visits.

Table 23.- Percentage distribution of frequency of landlord's visits to farm as reported by tenants

Frequency of visits	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Daily	5	27	38
Several times per week	4	19	21
Weekly	5	11	16
Every two weeks	3	3	4
Every three weeks	1	2	1
Monthly	9	8	10
Several times per year	49	19	9
Never	24	11	1
Total number reporting	223	123	320

Some students of the tenancy problem maintain that many difficulties could be avoided if all tenants had written rental agreements with their landlords. Without raising the question of the validity of this claim at the present time, ^{9/} it may be enough simply to point out that less than one-half of the non-owners in the North, about one-fourth of those among Negroes, and about one-sixth of those among Southern

^{9/} See p. 161, in the chapter on Landlord-Tenant Relationships.

whites report written rental agreements. A tenancy-improvement program based on a modification of the terms in written rental agreements, it is evident, will find none too much to build upon in the South.

To change the law, furthermore, is much easier than to alter the deeply worn paths of customary behavior. This is not to say, of course, that changes in the law may not be desirable or even necessary; but it is not beside the point to emphasize the sociological truism too often ignored by the reformer, that plans to modify human behavior, if they would be successful, cannot afford to disregard traditional patterns of conduct. They should be made with the fullest possible knowledge of, and with a recognition of, the limits of change imposed by those customary forms.

Another solution to landlord-tenant relationship problems often stressed by writers on the subject is that the relationship should be made more permanent, so that the tenant, with a long-time program in mind, could plan his farming operations more efficiently and at the same time enjoy some feeling of security. From this point of view, the frequency with which rental agreements between landlord and tenant run for only one year at a time has vital significance. One-year agreements are reported by three-fifths of the Northern, over four-fifths of the Negro, and almost four-fifths of the Southern white non-owning farmers. The feeling of instability which often accompanies this type of agreement does not appeal to many people. On the other hand, it must be recognized that many a non-owner, especially among Southern whites, would rather not tie himself down to a particular piece for any length of time in advance, other conditions remaining as they are. He wants to be free to come and go as he pleases, with the privilege of seeking a new location whenever he thinks he can better himself by a shift. In fact, he regards this freedom of movement as his most powerful sanction against any potential exploitation. Of course, if he could feel reasonably sure of eventually becoming the owner of the farm he occupies, he would gladly forego this freedom. It would seem that the predominant 1-year rental agreement, therefore, is an arrangement that gives at least a modicum of satisfaction to the non-owner as well as to the landlord, and hence is not the one hundred percent evil it is sometimes considered.

To test the validity of the idea that the rental agreement is of crucial importance in the mind of the non-owning farmer with respect to his landlord-tenant relations, we asked the following question: "If you had the chance, would you make any changes in your renting agreement?" The difference in the frequency with which non-owning farmers in the three sample populations reply that they would like to make changes is striking. Over one-half of all Negro non-owners say changes would be desirable, while only about one-fourth of the white non-owners, both North and South, give a similar response. In other words, for every white cropper or laborer who says he would like to make a change in the agreement with his landlord or employer there are relatively two Negroes in the same tenure classes who feel the same way.

Although it is very rare for unpleasant relationships between landlord and tenant to reach the stage of open disagreement, the relative frequency with which such disagreement is reported by Negro non-owners is consistent with the frequency with which they express a desire for changes in rental agreements. The total number of cases of disagreement is comparatively small, but among Negroes these cases occur over four times as often (9 percent), relatively, as among white farmers (2 percent), either North or South. 10/

It will be recalled that in the earlier discussion of farmers' opinions as to what is causing them the most serious trouble there was repeated reference to credit difficulties. It is, therefore, of considerable significance to see the overwhelming contrast between our three sample populations when the question of landlord control over non-owners' operating credit is raised. For every Northern non-owning farmer who is extended operating credit by his landlord, there are relatively nine Southern white, and twenty-two Negro non-owners. In other words, landlords have practically nothing to say about their tenants' operating credit in the North, but they control it for one-fourth of the Southern white, and two-thirds of the Negro non-owners. Along with authority, however, goes responsibility, at least so far as Negro non-owners are concerned; practically one-half of these report that their landlord or employer stands good for their debts. Among white non-owners, this happens in only one case out of a hundred, both in the North and in the South (Fig. 9, p. 30).

How would the tenant or farm laborer run the farm differently if he owned it? It is generally assumed that ownership would, on the whole, bring about desirable changes and that is one of the reasons why measures to help non-owners become owners are being urged so widely. But just what would non-owners do differently if they were to become owners? To throw some light on this problem, we questioned all the non-owners whom we interviewed as follows: "Do you think you would run this farm differently if you owned it?" Following affirmative responses, the next question was: "If so, what would you do differently?" The most important changes, according to our informants, would involve the amount of attention given to the conservation of soil resources. These farmers say that they, as owners, would attempt to improve the soil by various means: the rotation of crops, the planting of legumes, and the reduction

10/ Of course, it is possible to raise the objection that what the Negro non-owner means when he says he has had a "disagreement" with his landlord during the past year is something different from that the white non-owner means when he uses the same words. The methods we used in presenting our questions to farmers, regardless of race or locality, were designed to make both question and answer as nearly comparable as possible, considering the variety of conditions which were to be encountered.

of acreage in such cash crops as corn in the North and cotton in the South. In addition they would spend more time, effort, and money to effect the building up of the soil or its conservation by physical or mechanical means resorting to terracing, contour plowing, strip planting, or tiling and draining whenever necessary. These types of soil conservation and improvement are mentioned much more often in the South than in the North. Among Negro informants, however, the change most frequently mentioned as one that would come about with farm ownership has to do with production of an increased amount of food or feed. This consideration does not enter the minds of Northern tenants, and occurs much less frequently to white tenants in the South than to Negroes. Another difference between the North and the South, although it does not involve many cases, concerns references that are made to the condition of tenants and laborers: Southern non-owners, weighing the potentialities of ownership, say that they would attempt to improve the condition of others in their present class, whereas Northern tenants express no such humanitarian ideas (Table 24).

Table 24.- Percentages of non-owners saying they would run farm differently if they owned it, who specify various types of changes

Type of change	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Improve soil by rotation, legumes, etc.	60	29	17
Improve soil by tiling, terracing, etc.	6	20	16
Increase growth of food-feed	0	10	31
Improve/increase livestock	7	2	3
Improve condition of tenants/laborers	0	2	3
"Improve/build up the place"	20	9	6
All others	7	28	24
Total number reporting	146	221	356

Movement and Migration

The first question we wish to raise regarding the migratory characteristics of our three sample populations is as follows: "How many years has the family lived on the farm it now occupies?" Although allowance must be made for the fact that the three sample populations vary insofar as the average ages of heads of families are concerned, their differences with respect to the median number of years farmers have lived on their present farms may still be significant.

The median figures are as follows: Northern, 11.9 years; Southern white, 9.2 years; and colored, 7.5 years. Families of Negro farmers predominate in the categories representing the shorter periods of residence on the same farm, and there is a similar preponderance of families of white farmers in the categories representing the longer periods of residence (20 to 29 years, and 30 years and over). Thus we see again that farmers in the three sample populations, far from having identical characteristics, differ so much that a separate tenure analysis is necessary for each group, North and South, white and colored (Table 25).

Table 25.- Percentage distribution of farmers by duration of present farm occupancy

Duration of farm occupancy	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
One year or less	8.3	11.1	12.6
Two years	6.2	7.5	10.6
Three years	6.2	7.2	8.3
Four years	5.4	6.6	5.8
5 - 6 years	9.2	10.5	11.3
7 - 9 years	10.9	9.7	14.9
10 - 14 years	9.9	12.2	13.2
15 - 19 years	11.2	8.4	8.4
20 - 29 years	15.1	11.6	8.1
30 years or more	17.6	15.2	6.8
Total number of cases	687	894	842

If you have made a shift of residence within the past few years, you will probably testify to the truth of the old saying that "three moves are as bad as a fire." But we are less concerned with the mere wear and tear on tangible possessions than we are with the handicaps which result, whether or not they are consciously felt, when a family is constantly on the go, never remaining long enough in one place to establish itself among its neighbors. The children of these nomadic farm families must find it difficult even to imagine what "home" means to the child who lives in the same place from the time of his birth until the day he starts out into the world for himself.

Another method of measuring the amount of shifting about is to ask a farmer how many times he has moved during his years as an independent person, disregarding the number of moves he made as a child or young man in his parents' family. This approach yields results which show notable differences between colored and white families. The median

figures are as follows: Northern, 3.0 times; Southern white, 2.3 times; and Negro, 3.5 times. In spite of the fact that the Negro farmers in our sample are younger on the average than the white farmers, North or South, the median number of times they have moved is one and one-half as often as Southern whites, and one and one-sixth times as often as Northern white farmers. Classifying all farmers by the number of times they have moved, we find there are more Negro farmers than white farmers, either North or South, who have moved three, four, five, six, or seven times (Table 26).

Table 26.- Percentages of farmers reporting specified total number of times moved

Number of times moved	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
None	17.3	19.6	8.8
One	15.7	22.4	15.8
Two	17.2	18.3	17.6
Three	14.1	11.2	16.5
Four	10.6	8.8	13.2
Five	7.0	5.6	8.9
Six	4.1	3.6	6.5
Seven	3.2	3.1	4.1
Eight	3.6	1.8	2.4
Nine or more	7.1	5.5	6.2
Not reported	.1	.1	-
Total number of cases	687	894	842

Shifting from one location to another is one thing, but changing from one landlord to another is something else. Although Negroes seem to have the strongest case of wanderlust, they are satisfied apparently by short-distance moves, for they report changing landlords less frequently than do Northern farmers. The median number of times Negro and white farmers in the South have changed from one landlord or employer to another is only about 2, while for farmers in the North the corresponding figure is almost 3. This difference is due in part to the fact that plantation-operating Southern landlords have larger numbers of tenants than most Northern landlords have. A marked difference appears between Southern white and Negro farmers, however, when all farmers are distributed into categories on the basis of the number of times they have changed landlords or employers. About one out of three white, and one out of eight Negro farmers say they have never changed their landlords or employers (Table 27).

Table 27.- Percentages of farmers who report having changed landlord/employer specified number of times

Number of times changed landlord/employer	:	:	:
	:	Northern	Southern white : Negro
None	20.7	34.0	12.0
One	18.9	18.1	16.2
Two	13.5	15.2	20.1
Three	15.1	8.4	14.0
Four	7.9	7.8	11.2
Five	7.0	4.1	9.0
6 - 7	6.1	4.5	8.3
8 - 9	6.0	3.0	3.8
10 - 11	1.7	2.7	2.7
12 or more	2.9	2.1	2.7
Total number of cases	687	894	842

For some purposes, it is most useful to know how often the farmer shifts his patronage from one trade center to another, for a change of this type, unlike that from farm to farm, usually involves a severance of ties within the community. Northern farmers, although they move less frequently than Negro farmers, shift from one trade center to another more frequently. Although trade centers are much more thickly distributed throughout most of the Corn Belt than the South, these data confirm the impression of frequent short-distance moves in the South as compared with less frequent, but longer, moves in the North (Table 28).

Table 28.- Percentages of farmers who report having changed trade center specified number of times

Number of times changed trade center	:	:	:
	:	Northern	Southern white : Negro
None	54.4	58.8	63.3
One	15.7	16.9	15.2
Two	13.8	13.0	12.6
Three	7.6	6.0	4.5
Four	3.8	2.5	1.4
Five	1.7	1.5	1.3
6 - 7	2.0	.7	.8
8 - 9	.6	.3	.6
10 - 11	.3	.2	.2
12 or more	-	.1	-
Total number of cases	687	894	842

Another type of comparison commonly made in measuring migration involves the number of changes from one county to another. Although the differences are very slight, the sequence in order of decreasing frequency of such moves, as measured by the median, is from Northern, through Southern white, to Negro farmers. The three sample populations, in fact, show pronounced similarity with respect to the proportion of farmers who have spent all their lives in the same county or who have lived in various numbers of counties. Practically two-thirds of all farmers, North and South, white and Negro, have never lived outside the county in which they were born.

The same sequence appears when we compare the number of States in which farmers have lived. Northern farmers, in reporting the number of times States' lines have been crossed, show the highest median, Southern whites a slightly lower median, and Negroes the lowest median of all. On the other hand, between eight and nine out of ten farmers in each sample population have never moved across a State line. Not uncommonly, a farmer can move long distances without crossing State lines, but in the regions we are considering he can hardly do so without crossing county lines. The importance of short-distance moves is thus again emphasized.

By way of summarizing the lifetime migration and movement reported by all the farmers, we may say that well over half of them are still living in the county in which they were born. About one-third of the Negro farmers and one-fifth of the white farmers, North and South, continue to live in the State, but not the county, of their birth. Eight percent of the Negro farmers, three times that proportion of Southern white, and twice as many Northern farmers now live in a State other than the one in which they were born (Table 29). The rural South contains fewer recent immigrants than any other part of the country, and, therefore, it is not surprising to find the proportion of foreign-born

Table 29.- Percentages of farmers whose present residence as compared with place of birth is same county, same State, other State, and foreign country

Place of birth	:	:	:
	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
County of present residence	56.8	53.9	60.5
Other county in State of present residence	20.5	22.7	31.6
State other than present residence	17.9	23.2	7.9
Foreign country	4.8	.2	-
Total number reporting	687	894	842

much larger in the Northern than in the Southern sample population. Not one person of foreign birth was found in the entire sample of Negro farmers.

The final topic in this section is that of urban-rural migration. Most of our farmers were born on the farm. Only one in a hundred Negro farmers, three in a hundred Southern white, and eight in a hundred Northern farmers were not born on farms. The proportion of all the farmers in our sample population who report migration of this type is relatively unimportant.

Group Life 11/

If you should take the time to list the organized groups of all kinds which at one time or another have played an important role in your own life - the societies, associations, fraternities, clubs, lodges, leagues, cooperatives, unions, and so on - you would readily agree to the need for testing our three sample populations with respect to the similarity of their organized group life.

If we ask the Northern farmer or his wife how many organized group memberships were held on the average by all members of the family, we find the number to be nearly eight. Among Southern white families it is not quite seven, and among Negro families it is less than six (Table 30).

Table 30.- Average number of memberships and average maximum attendance per family in all organizations

Item	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Average number of memberships	7.7	6.6	5.7
Average maximum attendance	72.6	64.1	50.3
Total number reporting	138	138	167

These sample population differences become much less pronounced when the difference in size of families is partially eliminated, for,

11/ All the data in this section are based on the long-schedule sample populations.

as you will recall, Northern families were smallest and Southern white families were largest. In order to do this, we have classified as "small families" those which consist of one or two persons 10 years of age or over. "Medium-sized families" are comprised of three or four such persons, and "large families" of five or more. Members of the family who are not now living at home are not included in these figures; neither are members of the household other than parents and children. Although we find that sample population differences still remain, the differences between categories based on family size prove to be much the greater, there being more organization membership in the larger families. Furthermore, so far as small families are concerned, Negro farm families have even more organization memberships than do Southern white families. Regardless of family size, however, the average number of memberships in all organizations is much larger among Northern families than among Southern Negro families (Fig. 10).

Although the average number of memberships per family gives some idea of the degree to which farm families take part in organized group life, it is by no means the only method of measurement. If we are interested in the maximum degree of participation, we may inquire somewhat as follows: "Of all the members of your family who belong to this particular organization, which person attends meetings of the organization most frequently? How often did he or she attend during the past year?" Adding these maximum attendance figures for each organization to which members of a family belong, combining these totals for all families, and dividing by the number of families involved, we get what may be termed an index of maximum participation. This method of comparison shows an even greater difference between Negro and Southern white families than did the comparison involving membership, while the difference between Northern and Southern white families decreases slightly. The maximum participation by Northern farm families is almost one and one-half times that of Southern Negro farm families (Table 30).

Again we find that average maximum attendance figures display differences in the sample populations between small and medium-sized families very similar to those found in the comparison of organization memberships. Among large families, however, the type of sample population differences previously found is even more pronounced. The average maximum number of contacts with organized groups is proportionately about three among Northern whites, and two among Southern whites, to one among Negroes (Fig. 10). We may conclude that Northern farm families either have the largest amount of available organizational contacts, or that they take advantage of those available relatively more fully, or that some combination of these conditions holds true.

The final analysis dealing with organized group life is a comparison of the average amounts of money per family contributed to organizations of all types during the past year. The average amount per farm family contributed to all types of organizations is \$20.59 a year

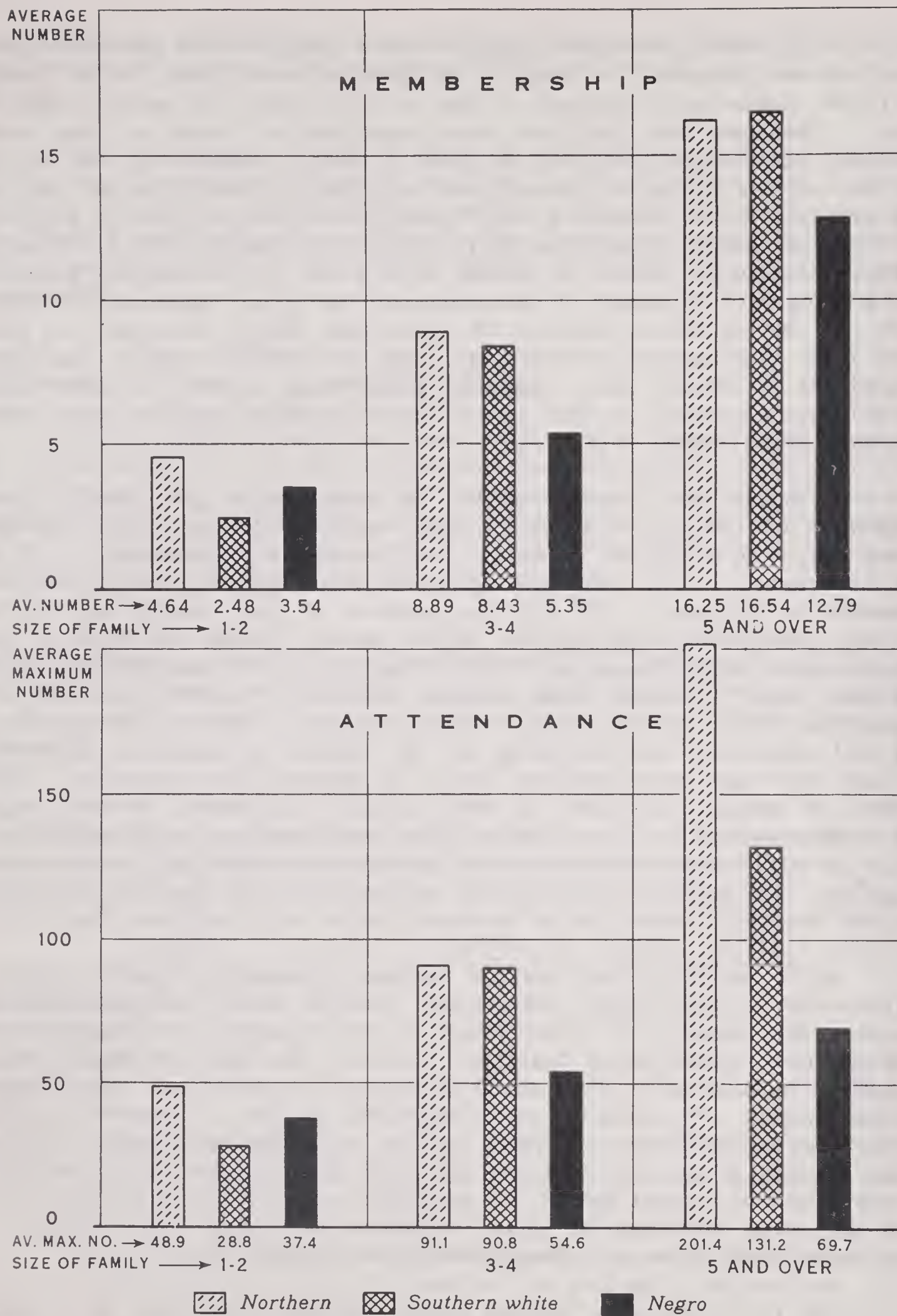


FIGURE 10.- AVERAGE NUMBER OF ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIPS AND AVERAGE MAXIMUM ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS OF ALL ORGANIZATIONS DURING PAST YEAR, BY SIZE OF FAMILY.

in the North. Among Southern whites it is \$9.80, and among Negroes, \$7.97. These average amounts are distributed among several distinct types of organizations, but in each sample population by far the largest proportion of all contributions goes to religious organizations. About nine-tenths of all contributions in the South, both among whites and Negroes, and about eight-tenths in the North fall in this category. The contributions of Negroes to fraternal organizations are relatively larger than those of farmers in either white sample population. The differences with respect to contributions to economic organizations are even more pronounced, for almost 7 percent of all contributions in the North go to organizations which aid the farmer economically - cooperative purchasing or marketing associations, for example. Among Southern whites the proportion contributed to organizations of the same type is only 1 percent. Negroes contribute nothing.

Organizations which aid the farmer in his occupation or train his children to become better farmers, such as the Farm Bureau, the Grange, or the Farmers' Union, receive greater financial support from farmers in the North than from those in the South. The differences which appear with respect to contributions to educational organizations are small and probably not significant.

In brief, we may say that Northern farmers diversify with respect to their investments in organizations more largely than do Southern farmers. Outside of religious organizations, those of a fraternal nature receive most emphasis in the South, but contributions to organizations of other types are negligible (Table 31).

Table 31.- Average amounts paid per family and percentage distribution of all contributions to certain types of organizations

Type of organization	Northern		Southern white		Negro	
	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent
Totals	\$20.59	100.0	\$9.80	100.0	\$7.97	100.0
Religious	17.19	83.5	8.99	91.7	7.28	91.4
Educational	.13	.6	.19	2.0	.05	.6
Occupational	.91	4.4	.14	1.4	.05	.6
Economic	1.39	6.7	.10	1.0	-	-
Fraternal	.98	4.8	.38	3.9	.59	7.4

The discussion up to this point has been confined to a consideration of participation in formally organized groups. Much social life,

however, is carried on entirely without the machinery of formal organizations. Visiting and entertaining play important parts in the lives of most of us. But to say that informal social intercourse of this type is universal is not to say that it is exhibited to the same degree by all people. The average frequency of visiting during the past year as reported by white farmers in the South is twice that of Northern farmers. The frequency reported by Negro farmers is about midway between those of the two white sample populations (Table 32). Informal visiting decreases as the participation in formally organized groups increases.

Table 32.- Average number of times during past year one or more members of family visited, or was visited by, friends and relatives

Type of contact	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Visited	24.5	46.6	34.3
Was visited	20.5	46.5	29.7
Total cases of inter-family relationship	677	575	828

How does distance influence social intercourse between families? To answer this question all cases of inter-family contact were classified by the distance separating the respective homes. In the first distance category are placed all instances of inter-family social participation in which the families involved live less than half a mile apart; in the second, the distance is one-half to nine-tenths of a mile; in the third, one to three miles; in the fourth, four to nine miles; and in the last, ten miles and over.

About one-third of all cases of such relationships in the South fall in the first-mentioned category, that involving the smallest separating distances. In the North, the proportion of instances in this distance class is much smaller. The proportions of inter-family social participation which take place when the distance involved is ten miles or more vary even more strikingly between the sample populations. The fractions of all cases of informal relationships in this distance category are: one-fifth in the North, one-twentieth among Southern whites, and one one-hundredth among Negroes.

In other words, distance as a factor affecting informal social intercourse between farm families is most important among Negroes, is

somewhat less significant among Southern whites, and is of least consequence among Northern families (Table 33).

Table 33.- Average number of times during past year one or more members of family visited, or was visited by, friends and relatives, classified by distance between homes

Distance between homes	:	Number of cases	:	Average number of times
Northern:				
Less than 0.5 mile		93		13.8
0.5 - 0.9 mile		116		17.3
1 - 3 miles		210		31.3
4 - 9 miles		111		16.6
10 miles and more		137		20.4
Southern white:				
Less than 0.5 mile		178		31.0
0.5 - 0.9 mile		113		20.0
1 - 3 miles		179		31.1
4 - 9 miles		69		12.0
10 miles and more		29		5.0
Negro:				
Less than 0.5 mile		305		36.9
0.5 - 0.9 mile		181		21.9
1 - 3 miles		266		32.1
4 - 9 miles		34		4.1
10 miles and more		9		1.1

Among most people, visiting together, regardless of time and place, is less likely to signify equivalence of social status than sharing a common meal. Accordingly, in addition to data on visiting, we secured information on the number of times members of our informants' families were guests or hosts during the past year on occasions when meals were involved in the entertainment. Although the differences between the sample populations are not very large, the traditional greater hospitality of the South is not borne out. Separating these data into two categories, those involving kinsfolk on the one hand and unrelated friends on the other, in each sample population the former appear to be entertained for meals far more often than the latter. This difference strongly supports the theory that, as a measure of intimacy, the exchanging of meals is more revealing than simple frequency of visiting. Friends other than relatives are entertained by

Negro families more often than by white families, either Northern or Southern (Table 34).

Table 34.- Average number of times during past year one or more members of family entertained, or was entertained as guest for meal

Type of contact	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Was guest of friends and relatives	6.4	5.5	6.0
Was host to friends and relatives	5.7	4.9	6.1
Was host to friends	3.0	3.1	5.4
Was host to relatives	10.0	8.7	8.7
Total cases of inter-family relationship	677	575	828

The final type of informal inter-familial relationship to be considered is partly social and partly economic. The problem is this: how many times during the past year have members of the informant's family "swapped help," tools, work animals, and so on, with the families involved in other informal relationships? Such mutual aid, or cooperative exchange, takes place on the average practically three times as often among Northern as among Southern whites, and practically two times as often among Northern as among Negro families. The greater relative frequency of this type of relationship in the North is probably more significant, in view of the more frequent visiting reported by white families in the South (Table 35).

Table 35.- Average number of times during past year farm operators' family exchanged tools and/or labor

Item	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Average number of times	5.8	1.9	2.9
Total number of families with which tools were exchanged	602	482	729

Our discussion of sample population differences with respect to social behavior would hardly be complete without a brief consideration

at least of the diverse types of social participation which do not fit into either of the two categories we have so far discussed. Differences of the most fundamental sort are found with respect to the frequency our informants report exercising the franchise; nine out of ten Northern, seven out of ten Southern white, and one out of ten Negro farmers report having voted during the "past year," that is, 1936 (Table 36). Payment

Table 36.- Percentages of informants reporting participation during past year in one or more of the following types of activities

Type of activity	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Voted	91.3	71.0	10.8
Paid taxes	95.7	65.9	45.5
Attended:			
County fair	45.7	25.4	18.6
Movies	78.3	54.3	19.8
Picnic	73.2	36.9	23.9
Religious revival	29.7	65.9	91.0
Went fishing	40.6	51.4	56.3
Went hunting	47.8	56.5	60.5
Total number reporting	138	138	167

of taxes is reported relatively four times as often as voting by Negro farmers, while slightly fewer Southern white farmers have paid taxes than voted. Among Northern farmers, the taxpayers are somewhat more frequent than the voters, 96 percent reporting payment of taxes against 91 percent reporting voting (Table 36). The functions of citizenship, evidently, are exercised with relatively the greatest frequency by Northern farmers, with somewhat less frequency by Southern whites, and with the least frequency by Negroes.

The institution known as the County Fair is probably more characteristic of the Corn Belt than of the South. It may be worth pointing out, however, that practically one-half of the Northern, one-fourth of the Southern white, and one-fifth of the Negro farm families report one or more members attending a county fair during the past year (Table 36).

Family picnicking, to even a more marked degree, seems to be a Northern institution: roughly three-fourths of Northern families, one-third of Southern white, and one-fourth of Negro families report taking part in this type of informal recreation (Table 36).

Attendance at movies is reported by a majority of white farm families, both Northern and Southern, and by a minority of Negroes: roughly four-fifths of Northern, one-half of Southern white, and one-fifth of Negro families contain one or more members who enjoyed this type of recreation one or more times during the preceding year (Table 36).

To infer from the foregoing comparisons that Southern farm families have less recreation, or get less joy out of life, than do those in the North would be far from valid. Both hunting and fishing, while probably not without their economic aspects, are reported relatively most frequently by Negroes, less frequently by Southern whites, and least frequently by Northern farm families (Table 36).

Religious revivals, furthermore, with their important social as well as spiritual aspects, are attended more often by Southern farm families than by those in the North. Negroes even outstrip Southern whites in this type of social participation, for attendance is reported by 91 percent of the former and only 66 percent of the latter. Northern farm families lag far behind in this type of group activity, for only 30 percent of them report attendance at revival meetings (Table 36).

Whatever you may consider to be the causes of the foregoing sample-population differences with respect to the miscellaneous types of social participation, it is enough for our purposes to indicate that the differences exist, and that whatever tenure-class differences later appear, they must be considered with this background in mind.

Levels and Standards of Living 12/

If you were to make a trip through the central part of the United States, going South from Canada to the Gulf, you would find that the appearances of the farmsteads would change almost completely as you left the Corn Belt and entered the Cotton Belt. Making the trip in a leisurely fashion and stopping occasionally to visit the farm homes along the way, you would find that they differ significantly not only in external appearances, but in contents as well. Although there would be many an exception to whatever generalization you should care to make, nevertheless the statement that the modes of living in the two areas are sharply divergent would probably be challenged by no properly informed person. But before going into the details, with respect to the dissimilarities, a few preliminary remarks should be made.

There is often a wide discrepancy between what people would like to be and what they are, between what they would like to have and what

12/ With the exception of the last four paragraphs, all the data in this section are based on the long-schedule sample populations.

they actually do possess. In the following discussion we shall use the term "level of living" to refer to the things that people have and the things they do, and to the amount of money they have to spend - in other words, to the actual conditions of their income and expenditures. The term "standard of living," on the other hand, we shall restrict in meaning to the things that people want, to what they think they should have, and to their aspirations with respect to modes of living. These two types of information, the objective and the subjective, are thoroughly complementary, and either one without the other is likely to prove much less illuminating than when they are presented together. Accordingly we shall present both types in the discussion that follows.

One further prefatory point should be emphasized: to point out differences concerning levels or standards of living is not to say that one type is better than the other. Some people prefer vanilla ice cream, others prefer chocolate, while still others don't care for either, but this is hardly to say that any one of these groups is better off than another. But if some of the people who like ice cream are able to have it when they please, and others, liking it equally well, are never able to satisfy this taste, it would seem reasonable to say that the members of the former group, in terms of their own desires, were better off than the latter. To say this is not to make a judgment, but involves merely the assumption that those people are best off whose wants are most completely satisfied. Accordingly, when it is pointed out subsequently that some farmers seem better off than others, only in the foregoing sense is it justifiable to say that they are "better off."

Among the various indices used in measuring levels of living one of the most important is the house in which a family lives. Of the many characteristics of houses which might be considered we can take up but a few. One of these is external appearance. Even from a distance, obvious differences are revealed, for you will quickly observe that in the North painted frame houses predominate whereas in the South unpainted houses are the rule (Table 37).

If we compare preferences, however, instead of actual possessions, we find that the long-lasting brick house is wanted by farmers much oftener than would be evident from the frequency with which brick houses are to be seen on farms. This is true regarding all three of our sample populations. It should be noted in passing that in our sample the proportion of painted frame houses occupied by white farm families in the South is about three times as great (50 percent) as that occupied by Negroes (14 percent), and that the proportion of unpainted frame houses is about twice as great among Negroes (86 percent) as among whites (48 percent). The painted wooden house is the preference of the majority, however, regardless of region or race (Table 37).

If you were to visit inside these houses, you would find that the number of rooms per house, a figure which usually indicates something

Table 37.- Percentages of families reporting which of specified housing items they now have, and which they prefer to have 1/

Housing items	: Northern		: Southern white		: Negro	
	: Now	:	: Now	:	: Now	:
	: have	: Prefer	: have	: Prefer	: have	: Prefer
House finish:						
Brick	5	35	-	38	-	32
Painted frame	89	64	50	51	14	62
Unpainted frame	6	-	48	4	86	5
Heating system:						
Furnace	20	83	-	18	-	14
Heating stove	80	17	48	26	33	29
Fireplace	-	-	46	38	66	47
Lighting system:						
Electricity	28	97	14	88	1	64
Gasoline	11	1	2	2	1	6
Kerosene	59	1	80	9	98	29
Water supply:						
Running water	16	89	8	71	1	56
Hand pump	69	5	19	3	27	6
Open well	1	-	64	16	55	26
Toilet facilities:						
Indoor toilet	15	98	4	66	-	52
Sanitary privy	13	2	23	25	5	45
Unimproved privy	72	-	71	6	60	2
No toilet facilities	-	-	-	-	32	-

1/ Percentages for items not listed for cases not reporting are omitted.

Table 38.- Average number of persons per household, and of rooms per house

Item	:	:	:
	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Persons per household	3.6	4.2	4.4
Rooms per house	6.8	4.6	3.2

of the scale of comfort enjoyed by the resident family or household, varies considerably. In fact, the average number of rooms in the houses comprising our Corn-Belt sample (6.8) is over twice as great as that we found in the houses of Negroes in the South (3.2), the figure for houses of Southern whites being almost midway between the other two sample populations (4.6) but closer to that of Negroes than that of Northern whites (Table 38).

When number of persons per household is related to number of rooms per house, the relative crowding of Negro families is brought out more clearly. In the North the ratio of rooms per house to persons per household is nearly 2 to 1, among Southern whites there is little more than 1 room per person, and among Negroes there is even less than 1 room per person. It is probable that if arithmetic averages had been used instead of medians, the contrast would have been even greater because of the greater weight that would have been given to large houses in the North and to large families in the South (Table 38).

Turning your attention next to the contents of the houses you would notice that these vary even more widely than the exteriors. Beginning with the types of heating equipment, for example, you would find that one out of every five Northern farm houses contained a furnace in the basement, and that the remaining four out of the five were supplied with a heating stove somewhere in the house. A fireplace for heating purposes would be found but rarely. In the South, on the other hand, fireplaces as the chief means of heating would be found in two-thirds of the Negro houses, or "cabins" as they are more commonly called, and in almost one-half of white farmers' houses (Table 37).

Although furnaces are very rare in Southern houses, this fact may not be so significant as is sometimes claimed. Treatments of differences between Southern and Northern modes of living, especially by Northern urban writers, too often disparage the Southern type as the less desirable or inferior. In warmer areas elaborate heating equipment is less imperative than it is in colder climates. It is true, however, that our sample areas include some territory in the Cotton Belt that has long, cold winters, and the contrast between North and South with respect to types of heating systems possessed is not entirely without significance. Furthermore, although preferences for furnaces are much more frequent in the North than in the South, it should not be overlooked that in the South, both among the whites and Negroes, a considerable fraction of our informants express a wish for furnaces.

If you should continue your journey to the Gulf after sundown, you would notice marked differences in the types of lighting systems used in the various farm houses. You would not be able to tell with any degree of certainty, however, by the quality of the light streaming from the farmhouse windows whether you were in the Corn Belt or the Cotton Belt, whether you were looking at a Negro cabin or a white farmer's dwelling. Kerosene lamps are used in a large majority of the homes.

About six out of ten Northern farmers, eight out of ten Southern white, and ninety-eight out of one hundred Negro farmers utilize no other type of lighting equipment. On the other hand, electricity is used by 28 percent of the Northern, 14 percent of the Southern white, and about 1 percent of the Negro farmers. If we compare level of living with standard of living in this respect, we find almost unanimous agreement among Northern farmers that they want electricity; nearly all Southern white, and about two-thirds of the Negro farmers want this convenience (Table 37).

If the radiator of your car were to run dry in the course of this trip and you wanted to fill it at a farm house, you would find running water at the farm houses of Northern farmers about twice as often as at those of white farmers in the South, and you would find it only in one out of every hundred homes of Negro farmers. More often than not at the Southern farmhouse, both white and Negro, you would get your water from an open well, pulling up the modern metallic descendant of the celebrated "Old Oaken Bucket." Such an open well would be rare in the Northern farmyard, but about two times out of three you would find a hand pump. In the remaining one out of three you would find power pumps and pressure systems to supply the water (Table 37).

Another important element in housing, though unquestionably it is more significant in cities and towns than in the open country, is the matter of sanitation facilities. About two-thirds of all farm homes, both North and South, white and Negro, have the old-fashioned, unimproved privy. It may be shocking to learn, however, that for practically one-third of the Negro families in our sample no toilet facilities in either house or outhouse are available. This difference alone should serve to set apart the level of living of the Negro families from that of the white families in the South, as this complete absence of toilet facilities was not encountered in a single instance among the whites. Neither was any such total lack of conveniences found anywhere in the North. At least one-half of the informants in each sample population express a preference for an indoor toilet, but the proportion rises sharply as we go from Southern to Northern farmers (Table 37).

In view of the extensive program of rural housing undertaken by the Farm Security Administration (formerly Resettlement Administration), and the consequent need for information as to how houses should be built and what they should contain, it is of interest to learn the preferences expressed by farm housewives when a limited number of alternatives is given. Our question was worded as follows: "If you could have only one of these things which would you prefer?" The first set of alternatives listed was: kitchen sink with drain, running water in the house, and indoor toilet. Running water in the house clearly is the first choice in the case of white housewives, but for Negroes this item is less popular than the kitchen sink with a drain. In all three sample populations, the indoor toilet lags far behind as the first choice among these alternatives. Among possessions it will be seen that the kitchen sink with

a drain is available to one-half of Northern farm housewives, while only about one-eighth of the Southern white, and one one-hundredth of the Negro housewives are similarly supplied (Table 39).

Table 39.- Percentages of families who possess or have available for use specified items; and percentages of housewives expressing preference for one in each group of three items

Item	: Northern		: Southern white		: Negro	
	: Now	:	: Now	:	: Now	:
	: have	: Prefer	: have	: Prefer	: have	: Prefer
Fixtures:						
Running water	20	48	10	62	1	35
Kitchen sink with drain	53	33	12	28	1	43
Indoor toilet	15	19	4	11	-	22
Moveable equipment:						
Sewing machine	93	20	72	56	50	64
Washing machine	75	69	7	15	1	14
Ice box or refrigerator	42	12	28	29	10	21
Total number of families	138	138	138	138	167	167

Another method of comparing the sample populations with respect to possession of the items listed is to combine all cases that report none of the three just mentioned. The similarity between the proportions falling in this category in the white and colored groups in the South is considerable, the percentages being nearly twice as great as in the North (Table 40).

Table 40.- Percentage of families failing to report or not possessing running water, kitchen sink, or indoor toilet

Item	: Northern		: Southern white		: Negro	
	:	:	:	:	:	:
Percentage failing to report or not possessing specified items	47.8		82.6		98.2	
Total number of families	138		138		167	

The second set of three alternatives was as follows: sewing machine, washing machine, and refrigerator. The difference between responses in the North and in the South is again sharply contrasting. The washing machine is preferred to sewing machine or refrigerator by seven out of ten Northern housewives as compared with about one out of eight in the South. The sewing machine, on the other hand, is preferred by over one-half of the Southern housewives, both white and Negro. Preference for an ice box or refrigerator is expressed by about one-third of the Southern white housewives, and by one-tenth of the Northern housewives. In spite of the potentially greater usefulness of the refrigerator in the South, however, it is possessed by only three-fourths as many Southern white, and one-fourth as many Negro families as in the North (Table 39).

So far we have been considering only the kitchen and workroom. Now let us go into the parlor and see what is preferred in the way of musical instruments. The piano is given as first choice by so large a proportion of Northern housewives that it seems to be considered standard equipment. In the South, Negro and white housewives disagree radically, the former preferring the phonograph more often than the piano, and the latter preferring the piano more often than the phonograph. But in neither of the Southern population groups is the majority so nearly unanimous as in the North. The foot-pedaled cottage-organ has disappeared. No longer is it owned or wanted by any significant proportion of the farm population, North or South. Pianos are possessed about twice as often by Northern as by Southern white families, about one in five of the latter and two in five of the former reporting such ownership. Among Negro farm families, only one in one hundred has a piano. The phonograph appears less frequently than the piano in the North and considerably more frequently than the piano in the South (Table 41).

Fundamental differences between life in town and in the country arise out of the greater degree of isolation in the latter, the absence of social contacts outside the family, and the spatial separation from other people and their activities. Accordingly, any invention that breaks down this isolation of the rural family is of tremendous significance to the rural population. Therefore, it is important to learn the frequency with which the telephone and the radio are found in the farm families of the three sample populations.

Almost two-thirds of Northern farm families reduce the degree of their isolation by means of the telephone. In the South, however, the frequency is almost negligible, less than one in twenty among white and one in one hundred among Negro families reporting this means of communication. The radio appears much more often in the South than the telephone does. Likewise, the relative disparity between South and North is much less marked with regard to the radio. Even so, only 2 percent of the Negro and 33 percent of the Southern white, and 72 percent of Northern families receive the advantage conferred by a radio (Table 41).

Table 41.- Percentages of families who possess or make use of specified items; and percentages of housewives expressing preferences for one in each group of items

Item	Northern		Southern white:		Negro	
	: Now :		: Now :		: Now :	
	: have	: Prefer	: have	: Prefer	: have	: Prefer
Musical instruments:						
Piano	43	84	17	56	2	36
Organ	4	1	10	6	2	4
Phonograph	27	11	29	22	18	58
Means of communication:						
Telephone	59	44	4	18	1	28
Radio	72	55	33	79	2	71
Publications:						
Daily newspaper	91	68	49	43	13	66
Weekly newspaper	66	1	30	2	48	3
Farm periodical	80	1	52	12	22	17
Religious periodical	19	1	17	1	25	10
Means of transportation:						
Automobile	91	96	46	82	10	81
Wagon or buggy	4	3	22	7	23	13
None (walk)	5	1	20	2	53	2
Insurance:						
Life	59	36	37	62	17	62
Burial	4	4	14	4	44	27
Personal property	77	14	2	-	2	2
Farm buildings	50	17	9	1	2	1
Total number of families reporting						
	138		138		167	

When we change the question from one of possessions to one of preferences, we find that similarity finally appears between the three sample populations: a majority in all three instances prefers the radio to the telephone. If the farm people we interviewed are at all representative, there is a vast, undeveloped market for the radio throughout the rural South. Similarly, the telephone has vast potentialities in this area, but the people concerned do not wish for it so keenly as they want the radio (Table 41).

Long before the coming of radio or telephone, the isolation of rural people was reduced by means of publications of various types. Sometimes, to be sure, they arrived long after the events they described had taken place, but within the memory of most living farmers Rural Free Delivery of mail came to reduce the lag. In spite of this advance, however, a daily newspaper is received by only one-half of the Southern white families and by about one-tenth of the Southern Negro families, both of which groups express preferences for this type of publication far more often than for any other. In the North nine out of ten farm families take a daily newspaper, and the preference expressed is largely for this type of publication (Table 41).

Religious periodicals are both received and chosen as first preference with greater frequency by Negroes than by whites, either North or South. The relative position of the three sample populations concerning publications received may be summarized by the proportion of families who receive neither newspaper nor farm periodical. This is true of less than 1 percent of Northern, 23 percent of Southern white, and 70 percent of Negro farm families.

Most important after improved means of communication in reducing isolation are improved means of transportation. The automobile is credited by some people as having remade American civilization, by others as having unmade it. But whether for good or for evil, the automobile and good roads have revolutionized the relationships between city and country. It might be more accurate to say that they have worked a revolution in the North and are doing so in the South, for, on the basis of our sample, Northern farm families have an automobile available for use nine times out of ten, while less than one-half of Southern white, and only one in ten of the colored farm families are equipped in like fashion.

When preferences for the automobile as a means of transportation are compared with preferences for other means, however, other means evidently have very few friends left. Even so, there remain a few farm people who say they prefer the horse-drawn wagon or buggy. It seems probable that the explanation for this preference is either that the persons involved are too old to learn to drive an automobile or that they are making a virtue of necessity.

One further point should be made. Over one-half of the Negro families interviewed report that when they want to go places they walk. Twenty percent of the Southern white families say the same thing, but only 5 percent of Northern families suffer a like disadvantage (Table 41).

It is self-evident that earthbound means of transportation can go no faster or more easily than roads permit. Accordingly, it is significant to note that the type of road most commonly used by over one-half of the Southern farm families is a dirt road. Four out of every

five Northern farm families, on the other hand, because of improved roads, do not need to worry whether it is going to rain or not when they want to go to town to take in the eggs and get some kerosene, to hear the mid-week evening band concert, go to church, or visit the retired "old folks."

Northern farm families more frequently carry insurance of almost every type here considered than do Southern farm families. Burial insurance, on the other hand, is reported by Southern white farm families four times as frequently as by Northern families. The proportions of Negroes who report having, and who express a preference for, this type of protection are much larger than the comparable proportions of whites. Southern farm families infrequently report, or express preferences for, insurance on personal property. Life insurance, on the other hand, is something which two out of three Southern farm families want, although they receive such protection in only a minority of cases (Table 41).

Insurance policies represent "coverage" of one type, but there is another type of coverage that is generally less desirable, namely, the mortgage. It is self-evident that the type of mortgage appropriate to the landowner is not suitable in the case of the non-owner. Therefore the proportion of farmers reporting mortgages on livestock, crops, or farm machinery is somewhat influenced by the proportion of operators who do not own farm land. Disregarding tenure class influences, it is true that for every Northern farmer who reports such mortgage indebtedness there are two white farmers in the South, and nearly four Negro farmers. (Table 42).

Table 42.- Percentages of owners reporting mortgage indebtedness on land, and percentages of farmers (excluding farm laborers) reporting mortgage indebtedness on crops, livestock, or farm machinery

Tenure and type of mortgage	:	:	:	
	:	Northern	Southern white	Negro
Total number of owners	350	391	127	
Percent reporting mortgage on land	49	40	38	
Total number of farmers	618	841	753	
Percent reporting mortgages on crops, livestock, or farm machinery	15	27	54	

If we take up mortgage indebtedness on land, on the other hand, we find the situation just reversed. Nevertheless, the decrease in frequency of these mortgages as we go from North to South is relatively less marked than was the increase, in the reverse order, of mortgages on property other than land. In the South, among both Negro and white owners, about four out of ten report mortgages on land, as compared with five out of ten in the North (Table 42).

Finally, let us consider the economic plant which the farmer operates: the land, the livestock, and so on. The Negro farm contains, on the average, about one-third as much acreage as that of the white farmer in the South, and one-fifth as much as that of the Northern farmer. Since this acreage includes land that is both productive and unproductive, it is interesting to compare the crop land acreage of these same farms. For every acre of crop land operated by the Negro farmer, the Southern white farmer operates about two and one-half acres and the Northern farmer operates four (Table 43). If we were attempting to make an economic investigation, this point would deserve much more extended treatment than is here possible.

Table 43.- Average total acreage and average crop acreage per farm

Item	: : Northern	: : Southern white	: : Negro
Average total acreage	152	104	35
Average crop acreage	102	63	27
Total number of cases	687	894	842

What the farm provides in the way of a good living is often emphasized by agrarians and other people who prefer the rural life. Another measure, although admittedly very inadequate, may nevertheless serve to throw some further light on the differences in the modes of living among the farmers in our three sample populations. The question raised is, What proportion of families possess 100 or more chickens? This number is reported by about 2 percent of the Negroes, about 16 percent of the Southern whites, and 75 percent of the Northern farm families. It is easy to imagine what this difference means in terms of eggs and Sunday chicken dinners throughout the year.

As a crude index of the level of living afforded by the farm, not in the way of home-consumed products, but of those that are sold for cash, gross income will serve. Although expenditures for seed, fertilizer, livestock, and equipment for running the farm are not excluded

from this figure, it is considered a significant sidelight on differences between our sample populations. The median income among the Negro farm families in our sample is \$244.63; among Southern whites, it is \$459.84; and among Northern farmers, it is \$1,337.84. The median income from colored farmers is 53 percent of that for Southern whites, while the figure for Northern whites is 291 percent of that for Southern whites. In other words, the median gross income reported by Northern farmers is roughly three times that of white farmers in the South, while the figure for Negro farmers is roughly one-half as large as that for Southern white farmers and less than one-fifth of that for families in the North. That these differences are important can hardly be questioned, but, as in the case of the crop acreage figures, we shall refrain from going into their economic implications. Instead, we shall turn to the socio-psychological aspects of tenure differences within the three sample populations.

Chapter III

ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS: WHAT DO FARMERS THINK ABOUT FARM PROBLEMS?

Desirability of Farm Ownership

In the preceding chapter we have discussed some of the differences in thinking that are apparent among the farmers in the North and the colored and white farmers in the South. In this chapter, although we do not want to lose sight of the fact that region and race do affect attitudes and ideas, we shall consider chiefly how the various tenure classes as defined in Chapter I differ in thought and feeling.

The first question to be considered is this: What do owners have to say about the desirability of farm ownership? Owners, you will recall, have been divided into three classes - landlords, part-owners, and full owners. The large majority in all three of these categories feel that they are better off than non-owners; but it is worth noticing that the proportion in each tenure class who do not feel better off from a business point of view is larger in the Northern group than in either of the Southern groups (Table 44).

Table 44.- Percentages of owners who feel better off or do not feel better off from a business point of view; and who think that they are or are not respected more as owners than they would be as renters ^{1/}

Response	: Northern			: Southern white			: Negro		
	: Land-:			: Land-:			: Land-:		
	: lord :Owner:owner:			: lord :Owner:owner:			: lord :Owner:owner:		
Business point of view:									
Feel better off	67.3	77.9	71.9	81.5	81.5	82.9	81.3	79.2	89.5
Uncertain	21.8	12.8	12.5	8.7	10.5	7.3	3.1	10.4	-
Do not feel better off	9.1	4.0	13.5	3.1	3.7	4.9	-	1.3	5.3
Respect received:									
Respected more	35.5	48.3	41.7	75.9	80.2	68.3	71.9	80.5	89.5
Uncertain	27.3	23.5	25.0	9.7	12.3	17.1	12.5	6.5	5.3
Not respected more	35.5	22.8	31.3	7.7	3.1	9.8	-	3.9	-

^{1/} Omitting percentage for those who did not respond. For totals representing 100 percent, see Appendix, p. 251.

When we shift the emphasis of the question from the business advantages of ownership to advantages of a more subtle sort - to the social prestige which the owner feels he receives because of his ownership, for instance - we find greater differences appearing among the three sub-classes of owners. Of farmers who definitely think they are more highly respected as a result of their status as owners, the largest proportion appears in the full-owner class, except among Negroes. In other words, full owners when compared with part-owners or landlords seem to feel greater assurance that ownership contributes to their prestige. Similarly, the smallest proportion who say they are not respected more as owners than they would be as non-owners, especially among white farmers, is found within the category of full owners (Table 44).

As we are more concerned with the problem of making non-owners into owners than we are with analyzing the characteristics of present owners, it is interesting to discover what the various classes of non-owners have to say about ownership. Specifically, the first question to be considered is, "Do you think you would feel better off if you owned this farm but had a mortgage on it?" Among Southern farmers, regardless of tenure class, a larger proportion of non-owners think they would be better off as owners, even with mortgages, than not. Among Northern non-owners, on the contrary, there are more who think they would not be better off as mortgaged owners. In fact, the differences between Southern and Northern farmers seem to be more significant than the differences between the tenure classes concerned.

But when non-owners are subdivided on the one hand into those who deal with relatives either as landlords or employers, and on the other hand into those who deal with other than kinsfolk, we find an interesting difference. In the South, both among whites and Negroes, farmers dealing with non-relatives are more frequently sure that they would be better off as owners than as renters, a smaller number saying they would not be better off as mortgaged owners. In other words, the Southerner who is renting from a relative finds less to gain as an owner than does the man who is dealing with a non-relative. This attitude does not exist in the North, however, for there the related non-owner feels optimistic about mortgaged ownership slightly more often than does the unrelated non-owner.

However, both North and South are consistent in that the proportion of those who assert they would not be better off as mortgaged owners is significantly larger among related non-owners. In other words, the foregoing generalizations regarding the relative advantages of ownership for related and non-related renters are similar, regardless of race or region (Table 45).

Passing from the question of mortgaged ownership and raising the general question, "Do you think owners generally feel better off than renters?" we find that the proportion answering "Yes" is significantly

Table 45.- Percentages of all non-owners, classified by tenure and kinship to landlord, who think they would or would not be better off if they were mortgaged owners 1/

Item	: Better off	: Uncertain	: Not better off
Northern:			
Tenants <u>2/</u>	31.1	26.6	40.7
Laborers	29.0	24.6	42.0
Related non-owners	32.6	15.1	51.2
Unrelated non-owners	30.1	30.1	37.4
Southern white:			
Renters	62.4	16.1	20.4
Croppers	48.8	13.7	36.3
Laborers	56.6	15.1	17.0
Related non-owners	51.0	14.4	34.6
Unrelated non-owners	58.8	15.3	23.0
Negro:			
Renters	79.8	5.9	13.4
Croppers	74.5	9.4	15.1
Laborers	55.1	13.5	21.3
Related non-owners	55.3	13.1	31.6
Unrelated non-owners	75.0	8.4	14.3

1/ Omitting percentages for cases not reporting.

2/ Because the number of croppers in the North is so small, and because in many respects they are more similar to renters than laborers in the North, they have been combined in this table, and in many which follow, as tenants.

larger than that definitely answering "No." Renters more frequently than laborers reply affirmatively to this inquiry. Among the white farmers in the South, croppers more often than laborers believe that owners feel better off; but among the Negroes, the proportion of croppers holding this opinion falls between that of renters and laborers. As in the case of the preceding question, however, the responses here seem to indicate a more significant difference between the non-owners in the North and those in the South than between the various tenure classes involved in each sample population. Northern non-owners are much less certain, relatively, than Southern non-owners that ownership will guarantee those feelings of peace and security that most people want (Table 46).

What happens when we separate all non-owners into those related and those unrelated to the landlord? In such a division it is found that renters and laborers who deal with relatives, at least among white

Table 46.- Percentages of all non-owners, classified by tenure and kinship to landlord, who think that owners do or do not feel better off than renters 1/

Item	: : Better off	: : Uncertain	: : Not better off
Northern:			
Tenants	65.0	24.3	9.1
Laborers	56.5	23.2	15.9
Related non-owners	67.4	19.8	11.6
Unrelated non-owners	61.8	25.6	10.2
Southern white:			
Renters	82.8	11.3	4.7
Croppers	86.9	9.5	2.4
Laborers	79.2	3.8	5.7
Related non-owners	90.4	4.8	4.8
Unrelated non-owners	82.1	11.3	3.8
Negro:			
Renters	96.8	0.8	1.6
Croppers	92.7	4.8	1.3
Laborers	84.3	3.4	2.2
Related non-owners	92.1	7.9	-
Unrelated non-owners	93.1	3.0	1.6

1/ Omitting percentages for cases not reporting.

farmers, are certain that owners feel better off than renters more often than are those who deal with non-relatives. The proportion of Negro non-owners, both related and unrelated, who think that owners feel better off than renters is so large that there is little room for a difference between these two groups (Table 46).

What do the responses to these two questions mean? It seems that renters dealing with relatives are identifying themselves so closely with the owning group that, although they can say that owners feel better off than non-owners, they can see less advantage to themselves in becoming mortgaged owners. They seem to feel that they already enjoy the chief advantages of ownership without suffering the pangs that usually go with a heavy mortgage hanging round one's neck.

Nevertheless, when we raise the question "Are you seriously looking forward to owning a farm?" we find that the related renters, croppers, and laborers in each sample population more frequently respond with a "Yes" than do the unrelated non-owners (Table 47). It would seem, accordingly, that this preponderance may be due not so much to a stronger

Table 47.- Percentages of all non-owners, classified by tenure and kinship to landlord, who are, or are not, looking forward to owning a farm 1/

Item	Are	Uncertain	Are not
Northern:			
Tenants	64.3	13.3	20.9
Laborers	33.3	20.2	40.6
Related non-owners	62.8	15.1	19.8
Unrelated non-owners	56.1	14.6	26.9
Southern white:			
Renters	74.8	9.1	13.9
Croppers	68.5	9.5	20.8
Laborers	67.9	1.9	20.8
Related non-owners	75.0	9.6	12.5
Unrelated non-owners	71.1	8.2	18.2
Negro:			
Renters	89.3	1.6	8.7
Croppers	72.6	8.3	18.3
Laborers	65.2	6.7	27.0
Related non-owners	81.6	7.9	7.9
Unrelated non-owners	77.3	5.7	16.6

1/ Omitting percentages for cases not reporting.

desire for ownership on the part of the related group as to their greater feeling of assurance that assistance will be forthcoming during their climb up the agricultural ladder.

Disregarding relationship of landlord and employer and considering simply the various non-owning tenure classes, we find that renters in each case say more often than other classes that they are looking forward to ownership. It is worth noticing, however, that Southern renters, both white and Negro, but especially the latter, are more frequently looking forward to ownership than are Northern renters. It is also interesting to see that Northern farm laborers, at least so far as our sample indicates, are less anxious than Southern farm laborers to climb the agricultural ladder. Only one-third of the former, as compared with two-thirds of the latter, say that they are looking forward to farm ownership. In other words, relatively twice as many Southern as Northern farm laborers have this aspiration (Table 47).

When the vague and indefinite question about "looking forward" to farm ownership is changed to the more specific one, "Would you say that

your prospects of owning a farm in the next five years are good, fair, or poor?" we find a serious shrinkage of prospective farm owners. Only 13 to 17 percent of the renters feel that their prospects of becoming farm owners within the next 5 years are good. This is true of even fewer croppers and of still fewer laborers. Conversely, large proportions of non-owners state definitely that their prospects of ownership within the next 5 years are poor, their numbers ranging from two-thirds to three-fourths of all croppers and laborers, and amounting to about one-half of all renters. The proportion of renters reporting poor prospects is largest among the Negroes, slightly smaller among the Southern whites, and smallest among the Northern farmers (Table 48).

Table 48.- Percentages of all non-owners, classified by tenure and kinship to landlord, who say that their prospects of owning a farm within the next five years are good, fair, or poor 1/

Item	Good	Fair	Poor
Northern:			
Tenants	17.1	36.5	43.3
Laborers	2.9	21.7	66.7
Related non-owners	15.1	38.4	43.0
Unrelated non-owners	13.8	31.7	50.0
Southern white:			
Renters	12.8	31.0	51.8
Croppers	7.7	22.0	68.5
Laborers	1.9	17.0	67.9
Related non-owners	12.5	34.6	48.1
Unrelated non-owners	9.2	24.3	62.1
Negro:			
Renters	16.6	28.9	54.2
Croppers	13.2	19.1	66.9
Laborers	7.9	14.6	75.3
Related non-owners	34.2	21.1	42.1
Unrelated non-owners	12.6	22.0	64.6

1/ Omitting percentages for cases not reporting.

Separating non-owners into those dealing with relatives and non-relatives, we find that the proportions reporting "good prospects" are consistently larger within the related group than within the unrelated group. Similarly, the proportions reporting "poor prospects" are smaller

among the non-owning farmers within the related group, and larger among those dealing with non-relatives. The excess of "good prospects" responses on the part of related, as compared with unrelated, non-owners is larger by far among Negroes than in the white sample populations. Kinship to the landlord, it would seem, means much more to the colored than to the white farmer (Table 48).

Non-Owners and the Farms They Want

The first question put to our informants in order to ascertain the ideas of non-owners on the subject of buying farms was this: "Would you like to buy this farm?" If the response to this query was either uncertain or negative, the following question was asked: "If not, would you like to buy some other farm?" In Table 49 the responses to these two questions are summarized; all those saying "Yes" to either the first or the second question (that is, wanting either the present or some other farm) were included in one group, those saying "No" (wanting neither the present nor any other farm) were combined in the second group, and those uncertain with respect to both questions were put into the third group. The tenure differences which appear are as follows: renters, croppers, and laborers want to buy either the present farm or another farm in respectively decreasing proportions. The only exception is that no difference appears between the proportions of Southern white renters and croppers wanting a farm, both of these tenure classes reporting the same percentage (86.9) of "Yes" responses.

A further point is to be considered. Do tenants renting from relatives want to buy the farm they are now living on more frequently or less frequently than those who are renting from or working for non-relatives? Among white non-owners, members of the related group are definitely more interested than those of the unrelated group in purchasing the farms on which they now live. Among Negro non-owners the reverse is true: related non-owners are less often interested in purchasing the farms on which they now live than are unrelated non-owners (Table 49).

This may arise from the fact that Negro landowners in general are very reluctant to part with land once it has been acquired and cleared of indebtedness. But another suggested explanation seems even more plausible - that the farm land owned by Negro farmers is, for the most part, very poor or undesirably located. The Negro landlord, naturally, is able to rent to his relatives only the land he has been able to acquire. These related non-owners, though apparently preferring to rent from kinsfolk, are not deluded as to the inferior quality of the land available to them when the landlord, like themselves, is colored. Accordingly, even though the related group of Negro non-owners may have very good prospects of becoming owners through inheritance, they may be much less interested in buying land from their relatives.

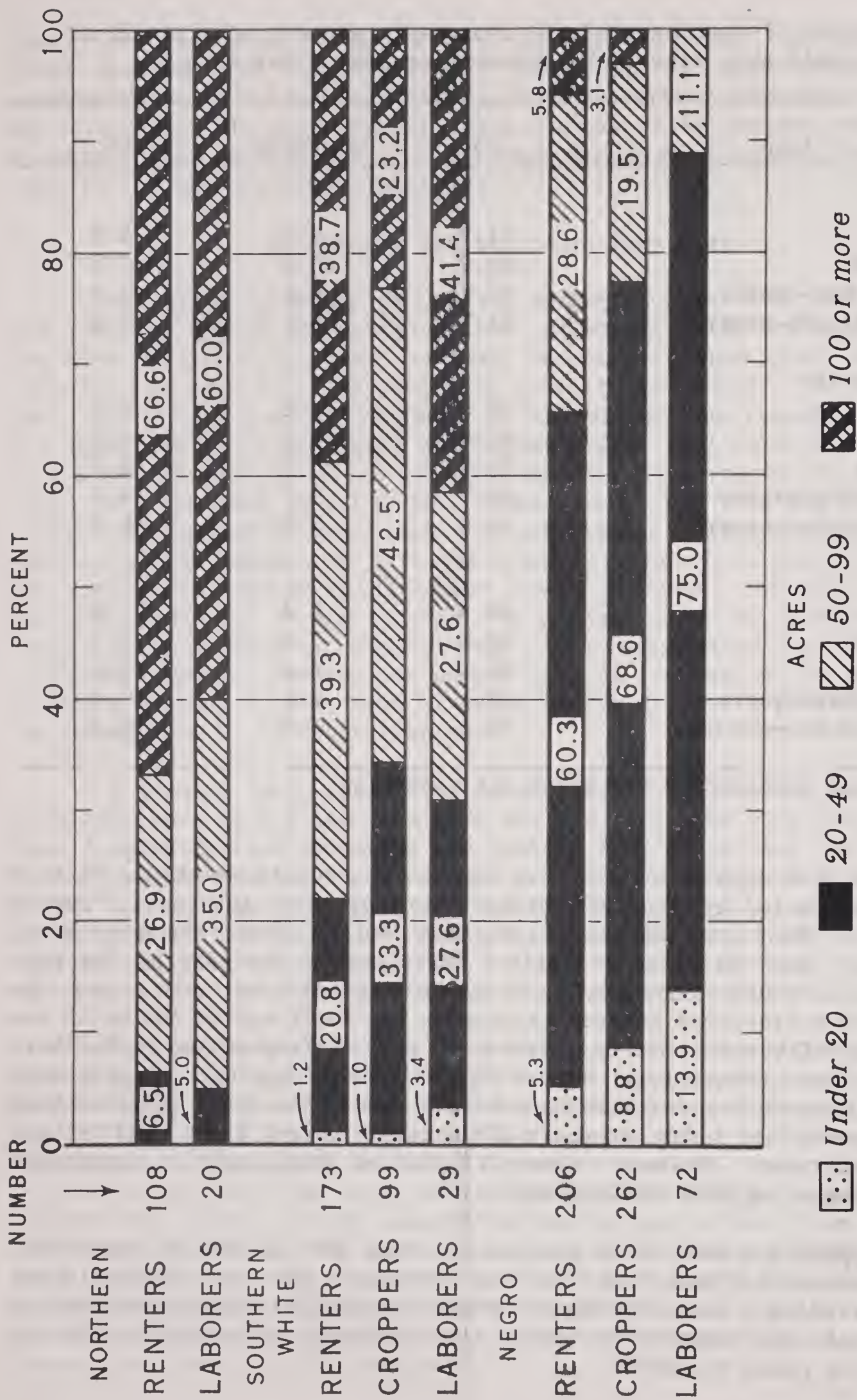
Table 49.- Percentages of all non-owners who say they would, or would not, like to buy present or some other farm 1/

Item	Yes	Uncertain	No
Northern:			
Tenants	71.9	8.7	15.6
Laborers	52.2	15.9	27.5
Related non-owners	47.7	8.1	41.9
Unrelated non-owners	31.7	6.1	58.6
Southern white:			
Renters	86.9	3.6	4.0
Croppers	86.9	2.4	4.8
Laborers	77.4	5.7	3.8
Related non-owners	56.7	4.8	34.6
Unrelated non-owners	46.0	2.6	46.0
Negro:			
Renters	95.3	2.4	.8
Croppers	86.8	7.0	5.1
Laborers	80.9	3.4	13.5
Related non-owners	42.1	5.3	47.4
Unrelated non-owners	58.0	3.8	37.3

1/ Omitting percentages for cases not reporting.

The next step, obviously, is to find out something about the size of the farm wanted by those non-owners who express an interest in buying (Fig. 11). Many considerations are involved in these expressions of preference, such as size of family, fertility of the soil in the particular area under consideration, rainfall conditions, etc., but the fundamental differences between farming in the North and in the South are especially reflected in the differences in size of farm wanted by Northern and by Southern non-owners. Tenure differences of apparent significance are also discernible, for both in the North and in the South laborers tend to want the smaller farms, croppers the somewhat larger farms, and renters the largest farms. However, these differences seem minor in comparison with the basic regional differences.

Suppose you were in a position to help set up one of these non-owning farmers on a farm that he should eventually pay for. How would you go about finding a suitable farm? Would the man you were attempting to help welcome your efforts to locate him elsewhere, or would he want to pick out the place himself?



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FIGURE 11.- PERCENTAGES OF NON-OWNERS WHO WOULD LIKE TO BUY FARMS OF SPECIFIED ACREAGES.

Marked differences exist among the tenure groups: laborers and croppers more often than renters consistently say they would want help or advice in finding a suitable farm. But Negro laborers and croppers show much more uniformity in this respect than white farmers in the same tenure classes. In fact, even Negro renters give the same type of response four times out of five, whereas only about one-half of the white renters indicate a desire for assistance in locating a good farm (Table 50).

Table 50.- Percentages of non-owners desiring to purchase farms who say they would or would not want: (1) help or advice in finding a suitable farm; (2) advice from creditors in running farm

Sample population: and tenure status:	Finding farm			Running farm		
	Yes	: Uncertain	: No	: Yes	: Uncertain	: No
Northern:						
Tenants	52.9	8.0	39.1	44.8	17.2	37.9
Laborers	70.0	10.0	20.0	50.0	25.0	25.0
Southern white:						
Renters	46.5	22.1	31.4	39.5	30.2	30.2
Croppers	49.3	16.9	33.8	39.4	23.9	36.6
Laborers	74.2	12.9	12.9	45.2	12.9	41.9
Negro:						
Renters	80.6	6.5	12.9	85.5	3.2	11.3
Croppers	93.3	3.8	2.9	83.8	8.6	7.6
Laborers	97.4	-	2.6	92.3	2.6	5.1

Accordingly, although we find tenure differences and although they appear to be significant, it seems evident that the circumstances of Negro non-owning farmers are in general so different from those of white non-owning farmers that with respect to this particular question they should be considered separately as a racial group. Treatment on the basis of tenure status without regard for race would not be sufficient. On the other hand, it is also possible that the advising and supervision of non-owners remains desirable for all non-owning groups. If the latter be true, we may safely say that as far as this phase of a tenant-aid or farm-purchasing program is concerned there will be more opposition - or at least less cooperation - among white farmers than among Negroes.

A somewhat different situation is involved in the following question: "Would you want any advice from your creditor in running your farm?" Our findings, however, are much the same. Laborers more often than croppers or renters say that they are willing to receive such super-

vision. The racial differences pointed out in the preceding paragraph are even more striking in this connection. The proportion of Negro farmers, regardless of tenure, who say "Yes" to this question is roughly twice as large as among white non-owning farmers (Table 50). It would seem clear that proposals to solve the tenancy problem through supervision of non-owning farmers stand much better chances of a warm reception among Negro farmers than among white farmers, and that tenure differences within these racial groups are comparatively insignificant.

Regardless of the type of tenant-aid program suggested, regardless of its advocates or its intended scope, the attempt to transform non-owners into farm owners is likely to cost money. Naturally enough, the taxpayer would like to know how much. Accordingly, we questioned our non-owning informants regarding the estimated cost of the farms they would like to buy. Tenure differences are still present, but again the differences that distinguish farming in the South from farming in the North seem more impressive. For less than \$4,000 each - if our farmers knew what they were talking about - you could have gone out in the winter of 1936 and secured precisely the farms desired by over one-half of the would-be purchasers among the white farmers in the South and by over nine-tenths of those among the Negroes. Less than \$1,000 per farm, apparently, would take care of roughly one-third of the Negro non-owners, but a similar amount would help only very few white farmers in the South and practically none at all in the North. In fact, \$4,000 would not suffice for more than one-tenth of the Northern tenants. To place even a majority of the would-be purchasers among non-owners in the North on the farms they want, it would be necessary to increase the investment to over \$10,000 per farm.

As a matter of fact, about one-half of the renters and about two-thirds of the laborers estimate that it would take over \$10,000 per farm. This sum was mentioned as the probable cost by about 1 percent of the Negro farmers and by relatively small proportions of the white farmers in the South. It would seem safe to say here, as in the preceding comparisons, that tenure differences, although they appear, are less important than regional and racial differences (Table 51).

How much would the farmer be able to pay down on his farm? Renters in each sample population are able to make the best showing with respect to possible down payments. In the South, there are actually fewer croppers than farm laborers who would be able to pay down \$100 or more. This is true of both whites and Negroes. Laborers, in other words, seem to be slightly better fixed financially than croppers. Probably the fact that there is an overwhelming proportion of Southern farmers, regardless of tenure class, whose upper limit on a down payment is less than \$100 is of more importance than the small tenure differences which appear. In the North about one-half of all non-owners say they would be able to pay less than \$100, and it should be noted that this category includes also those who could pay down nothing (Table 52).

Table 51.- Percentages of non-owners desiring to purchase farms who estimate cost of such farms to be specified amounts

Sample population and amount	:	:	:	:		
	:	Renters	:	Croppers	:	Laborers
Northern:						
Under \$1,000		0.6		-		-
\$ 1,000 - 4,000		9.4		-		4.3
4,000 - 10,000		37.1		-		30.4
10,000 and over		52.9		-		65.2
Southern white:						
Under \$1,000		4.5		6.4		16.2
\$ 1,000 - 4,000		51.0		66.1		35.1
4,000 - 10,000		27.8		25.7		37.8
10,000 and over		16.7		1.8		10.8
Negro:						
Under \$1,000		29.5		33.3		35.1
\$ 1,000 - 4,000		64.0		62.1		56.8
4,000 - 10,000		5.8		3.5		8.1
10,000 and over		.7		1.0		-

Table 52.- Percentages of farmers desiring to purchase farms who say they could pay down specified amounts on purchase price of farms desired

Sample population	:	:	:			
and amount	:	Renters	:	Croppers	:	Laborers
<hr/>						
Northern:						
Under \$100		47.9		—		55.6
\$100 — 500		3.0		—		—
500 and over		49.1		—		44.4
Southern white:						
Under \$100		82.0		97.6		88.5
\$100 — 500		11.2		2.4		7.8
500 and over		6.8		—		3.8
Negro:						
Under \$100		78.3		86.4		77.8
\$100 — 500		10.1		6.8		22.2
500 and over		11.4		6.8		—

Closely related to the foregoing is the question of the size of the loan that would be needed to establish these non-owners as owners. Loans of \$2,500 or less would seem to be large enough to help out Negro non-owners in nine out of every ten cases. In the North renters would require fewer of the large loans and more of the small loans than would laborers. Among Southern white farmers small loans - that is, of less than \$2,500 - would help croppers relatively more often than either renters or laborers. In brief, tenure differences are again present, but compared with the sample population differences they seem insignificant (Table 53).

A much-disputed point in connection with proposed plans for aiding croppers, tenants, and laborers up the agricultural ladder involves the length of time that they should be allowed for the climb. The range of proposals is from a very few years up to the normal lifetime of the farmer and even longer. White farm laborers, both North and South, specify longer time periods than other tenure classes within the same sample populations. Regardless of tenure class, Negro farmers specify on the average practically the same period for amortization, about 10 years, which is less than one-half that specified by Northern farmers (Table 54, p. 77). It must be kept in mind that the members of the various tenure classes and sample populations are thinking of repayment not in terms of loans of equal size, but of widely differing amounts. For this reason, the Negro non-owning group may not be so optimistic, relatively, as they would seem from the present comparison which disregards also size of holdings. Tenure differences again seem to be less significant than the sample population differences.

Table 53.- Percentages of non-owners desiring to purchase farms who indicate size of loan in specified amount

Sample population and amount	: Renters	: Croppers	: Laborers
Under \$2,500	6.9	-	4.2
\$ 2,500 - 3,999	8.8	-	8.3
4,000 - 9,999	38.4	-	29.2
10,000 or more	45.9	-	58.3
Southern white:			
Under \$2,500	37.6	48.6	36.1
\$ 2,500 - 3,999	22.8	26.6	22.2
4,000 - 9,999	24.4	22.9	33.3
10,000 or more	15.2	1.8	8.3
Negro:			
Under \$2,500	86.9	88.7	89.5
\$ 2,500 - 3,999	10.9	8.2	5.3
4,000 - 9,999	2.2	2.6	5.3
10,000 or more	-	.5	-

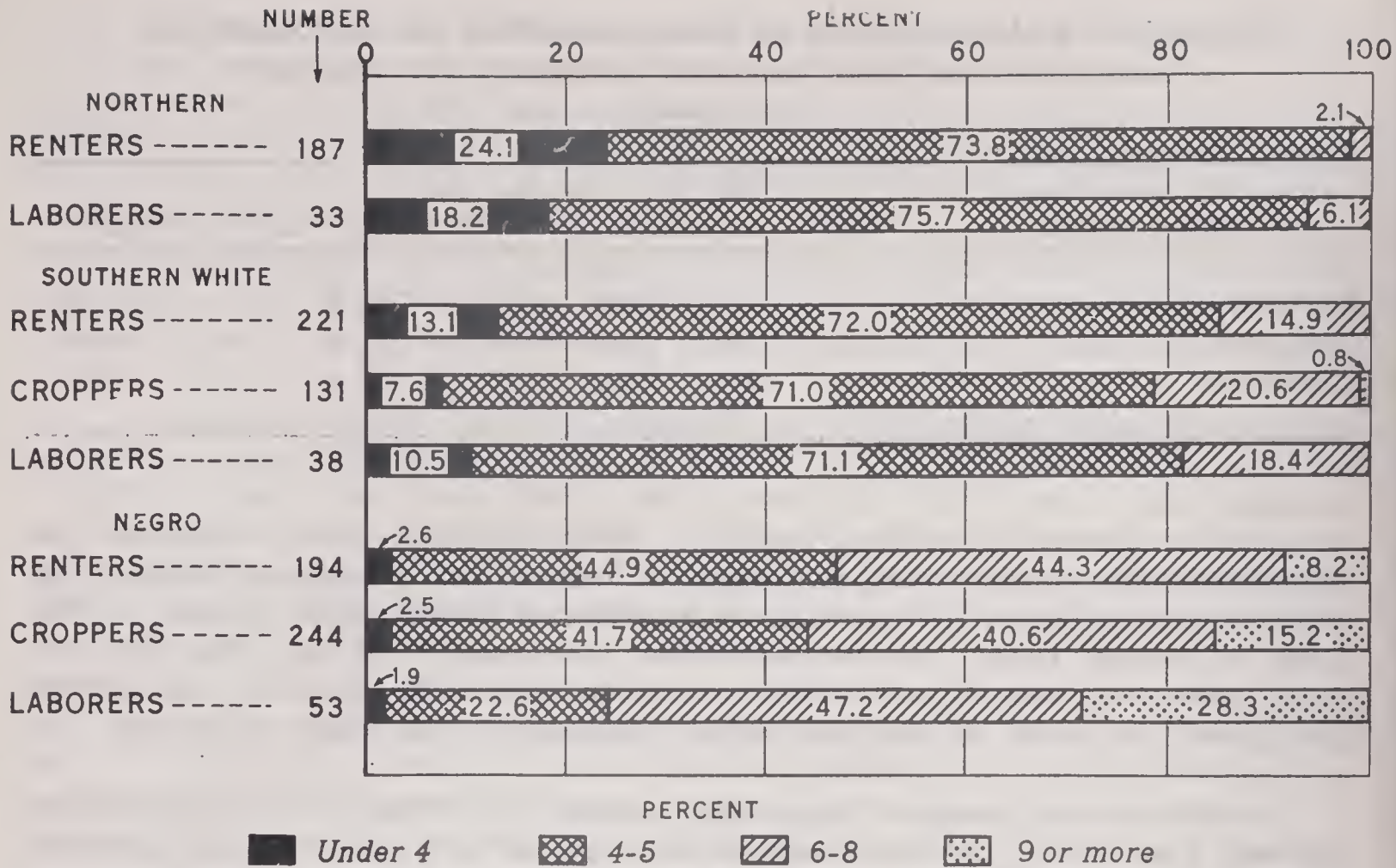
Table 54.- Median numbers of years specified by non-owners desiring to purchase farms as necessary for repayment of loans.

Non-owners	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Renters	21.7	16.3	11.0
Croppers	-	14.3	9.9
Laborers	24.2	20.4	9.9

One further question remains: "What would be a fair rate of interest to pay on the loan by means of which the non-owner becomes an owner?" Here some interesting tenure-class differences appear. The lower a farmer is in the tenure scale, it seems, the more he receives hard knocks and the more he comes to expect them. Conversely, the higher he climbs the more he receives good treatment, and comes to expect it.

Within the group of Negro non-owners, for example, the proportion who say they think that 9 percent or more would be a fair rate of interest is twice as large among croppers as among renters, and over three times as large among laborers as among renters. This is true in spite of the fact that laborers receive smaller incomes and, in general, seem to be in a poorer position to pay high interest rates than renters. Conversely, the proportion of renters who regard a comparatively low rate (under 4 percent) as fair is larger than the proportions of croppers or laborers who mention similar rates. The same tendency seems to prevail, although to a much less noticeable degree, among Northern non-owners. In the North, however, the proportions who say they think that an interest rate ranging from 6 to 8 percent is fair were much lower than the proportions of Negro non-owners who were talking about 9 percent and more. Southern white non-owners in about seven cases out of ten, regardless of tenure, think that somewhere between 4 and 5 percent is a fair rate of interest (Fig. 12).

If we determine from the same data the median interest rate specified, the tendencies previously pointed out are shown in a way which may be somewhat easier to grasp. Rates of interest estimated as fair by laborers (Northern, 4.7 percent; Southern white, 5.3 percent; Negro, 7.5 percent) are consistently higher than those regarded as fair by renters and croppers (Northern renters, 4.5 percent; Southern white renters, 5.1 percent; croppers, 5.0 percent; Negro renters, 6.2 percent; croppers, 6.2 percent). Renters and croppers give nearly identical estimates. Regional differences, however, seem to be more important than tenure differences, for, on the basis of their own statements, the Negro farmer would be willing to pay about 6.2 percent while the white farmer would want to pay about 5 percent in the South and 4.5 percent in the North.

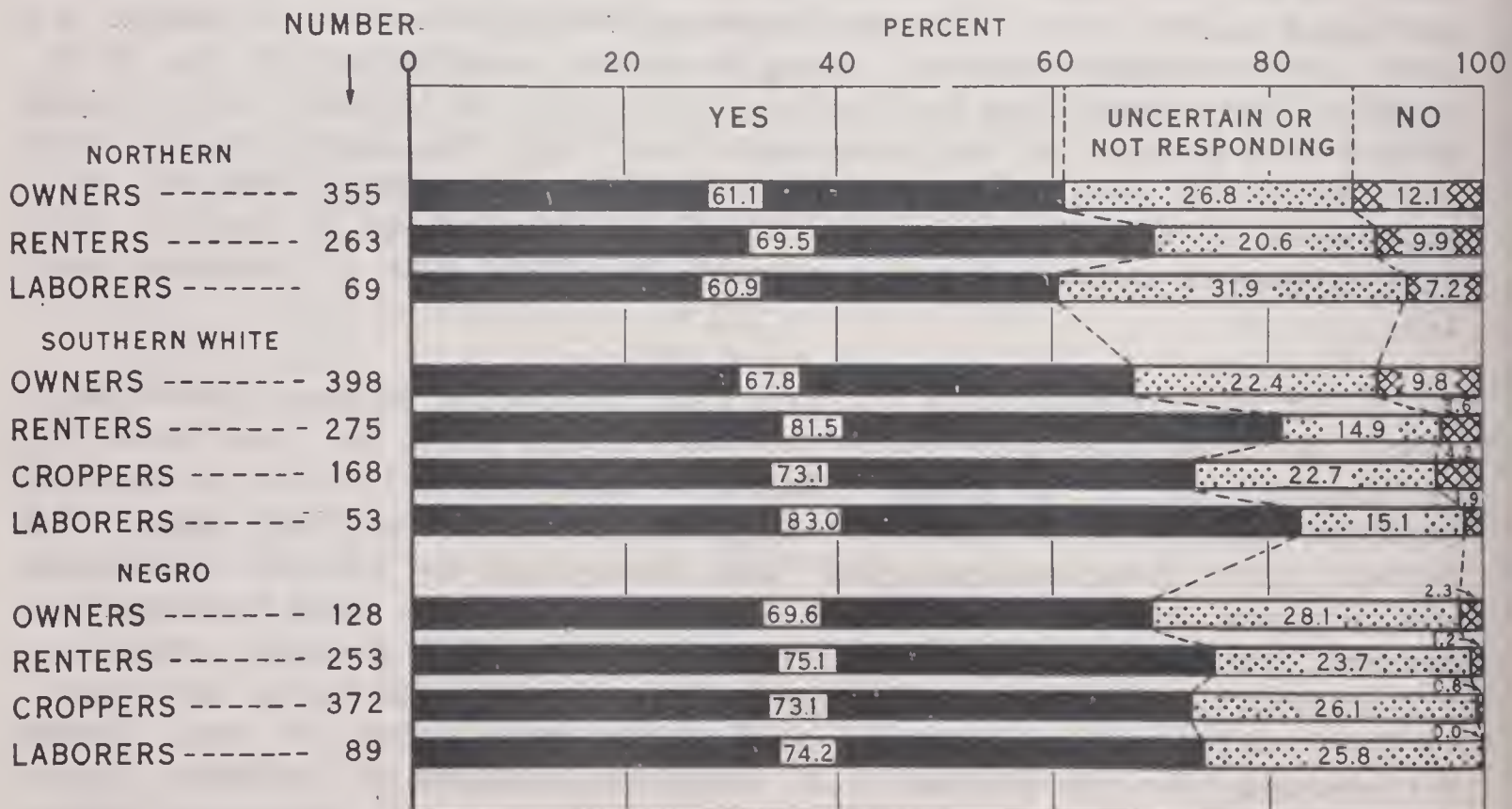


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FIGURE 12.- PERCENTAGES OF NON-OWNERS INDICATING VARIOUS RATES OF INTEREST WHICH THEY REGARD AS FAIR.



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NEG. 32718

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FIGURE 13.- PERCENTAGES OF FARMERS WHO THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD, OR SHOULD NOT, DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE INCREASE OF FARM TENANCY.

Increase of Farm Tenancy

Whether the increase in farm tenancy has been rapid enough to cause alarm, whether it means that something is seriously wrong, or whether it is to be regarded merely as the natural course of events in a gradually maturing country - these are questions that are doubtless open to discussion. But while the doctors argue among themselves, we will ask our farmers the two most fundamental questions to be raised with regard to the whole situation. The first is: "Do you think the Government ought to do anything about it?" Most farmers say, "Yes." But within this group who, it would seem, should show the most concern about the increase of farm tenancy, there are differences between tenure classes as to the proportions who think the Government should take definite steps. Owners seem to be somewhat less concerned than non-owners about getting the Government to do something. 13/

Disregarding the responses of those who are uncertain, and noting first the proportions who say definitely, "No, the Government should not do anything about the matter," clear-cut tenure differences appear. The proportion giving this negative answer declines almost regularly as we go down the tenure ladder from owners through renters and croppers to laborers (Fig. 13).

Now let us turn to the second fundamental question. In case the response to the first inquiry was positive, this one follows: "What do you think the Government ought to do about it?" (Table 55, p. 80). The most frequent type of response found in the North has to do with improving credit facilities. Practically one-half of the Northern respondents, regardless of tenure class, consider this the best way for the Government to begin in attacking the tenancy problem. In the South, this type of suggestion is made by from one-fourth to one-third of the white farmers, depending upon the tenure class, and by less than one-tenth of the Negro informants.

Although tenure differences appear in each sample population, they are comparatively much smaller than the differences between sample populations. Another type of response revealing considerable differences between the three sample populations is one that may be classified as "facilitate land ownership by means unspecified." This response is most frequent among Negroes, comprising from one-fourth to nearly one-half of all responses, depending upon the tenure class considered. 14/ It is

13/ At the time this field work was in progress, no tenant-aid legislation had been passed. Subsequently, the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act was enacted.

14/ It is the opinion of C. G. Gomillion, supervisor of Negro field workers, that "many Negroes whose responses fall within this category desire the Government to buy land and sell it to them at a reasonable price, or help them secure a desirable farm from owners of large holdings. They seldom have in mind securing a loan from the Government."

Table 55.- Percentages of farmers thinking the Government should do something about the increase of farm tenancy who make specified types of suggestions 1/

	:	:Improve:	Facilitate	:	:Restrict:	
Tenure	: Total	:credit	: ownership	:	:size of	: Approval
status	: number	:facili-	: by means	:Aid only	: land-	: but not
	:responding:	ties	:unspecified:	deserving:	holding	:suggestion
<hr/>						
Northern:						
Owners	217	52.5	12.9	3.7	6.9	13.4
Tenants	183	52.5	14.2	1.6	9.8	12.0
Laborers	42	50.0	16.7	-	14.3	11.9
Southern						
white:						
Owners	270	24.8	20.7	20.7	10.0	12.6
Renters	224	33.5	16.5	11.6	11.1	17.9
Croppers	123	27.6	30.1	12.2	7.3	11.2
Laborers	44	29.5	22.7	4.5	4.5	22.7
Negro:						
Owners	89	6.7	37.1	5.6	3.4	10.1
Renters	190	9.5	46.8	1.1	-	6.3
Croppers	272	7.4	35.7	1.1	0.7	12.9
Laborers	66	3.0	25.8	-	-	19.7

1/ Omitting percentages for all other responses and those not responding.

least frequent among Northern farmers, and appears with a frequency somewhere between these extremes among Southern whites. Tenure class differences are not at all consistent, laborers in the North, croppers among Southern whites, and renters among Negroes giving this response most often.

Another type of response that shows marked differences between sample populations and, at the same time, striking and consistent tenure differences comes under the classification, "Aid only the deserving." Owners in each sample population give an answer of this sort most often, renters and croppers next, and laborers least often. As a matter of fact, no laborers among Northern farmers or Southern Negroes express such a conviction. Among Southern white farmers, owners respond thus about four times as often as laborers. In fact, this type of answer appears with significant frequency only among Southern white farmers. It implies a frame of mind that is to be found only rarely, apparently, among either Negroes or Northern farmers.

Another type of response has to do with the suggestion that the maximum size of individual land holdings be restricted in one way or another, the specific method most often mentioned being some sort of a

graduated land tax. The tenure differences which appear in the North are exactly reversed in the South - laborers give this suggestion most frequently in the North, whereas in the South they mention it less often than other tenure classes among whites and not at all among Negroes. But regardless of tenure class, white farmers make this suggestion much more frequently than Negro farmers.

One final category of responses may be mentioned--those in which the farmer says, "Yes, the Government should do something about the increase of tenancy," but makes no concrete suggestion as to what should be done. About one out of every eight farmers in the North, whether an owner, renter, or laborer, gives this sort of reply. In the South, however, laborers make vague statements of approval about twice as often as owners. In other words, it would seem that in the North farm laborers as frequently as farm owners and renters have figured out just about what they think the Government should do, whereas, in the South they have reached this point in their thinking only about half as often as owners. It is possible that this difference is partially due to the general age differences of the farm-laborer groups in the two regions, for the Northern laborers are somewhat older on the average than Southern laborers.

Federal Government Programs for Farmers

The question discussed in the preceding section is not entirely without precedent, for the Federal Government already has reached out to administer various programs designed to remedy certain farm problems. To find out something about the reception these programs are receiving and the reactions they have caused in farmers' thinking, several questions were asked concerning them (Table 56).

The first program to be considered is that of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. The questions asked were: "Do you favor that part of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program whereby the Government pays farmers to reduce their crop acreage?" "Why or why not?" Tenure differences in the North are the reverse of those found in the South. In the North owners are less favorable and show more opposition to the acreage reduction program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration than non-owners, whether renters or laborers. In the South, on the contrary, it is the owners who show most frequent approval, over three out of every four declaring themselves definitely in favor of the program. Smaller favorable proportions are found among renters and croppers, and laborers are still less sympathetic, even less than a majority of Negro laborers expressing their approval. 15/ It must be noted that the

15/ According to Mr. Gomillion, "Some Negro laborers felt that the Agricultural Adjustment Administration was partly to blame for their not being able to get much work; others felt that only landowners benefited by the program."

proportions of farmers who reply with no clearcut answer whose responses must be classified as "uncertain," are fairly large in the South, particularly in the laborer group. This fact suggests that the smaller proportion in favor of the reduction program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration may be due to lack of knowledge on the part of farm laborers regarding the program rather than to pronounced opposition. But when we note the proportions of farmers who say they are not in favor of the reduction program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, we find that the tenure differences previously noted still remain. For this reason the rather large proportion of uncertain responses probably conceals less than one might think.

When the same kind of question is raised regarding the soil conservation program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration a similar situation is found in the South; but in the North, in this case, owners no longer comprise the least favorable group. The question was: "Do you

Table 56.- Percentage of farmers who do, or do not, favor certain aspects of specified governmental programs 1/

Sample population and tenure status	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Farm
Total number of cases	:	Acreage reduction program	:	Soil Conservation program	:	Resettlement Administration program	:	Credit Administration program	:	
	:	Favor	Oppose	Favor	Oppose	Favor	Oppose	Favor	Oppose	
Northern:										
Owners	355	46.8	33.5	63.1	16.1	68.2	8.7	74.9	7.3	
Tenants	263	50.9	30.8	73.8	14.1	76.4	5.7	77.2	4.2	
Laborers	69	50.7	31.9	56.5	27.5	76.8	4.3	63.8	7.2	
Southern white:										
Owners	398	79.4	10.3	83.7	5.0	64.3	6.3	76.6	4.3	
Renters	275	75.3	12.4	76.0	12.0	65.8	2.5	72.0	1.8	
Croppers	168	75.6	9.5	70.2	10.7	62.5	1.2	69.6	-	
Laborers	53	58.5	17.0	66.0	7.5	71.7	7.5	64.2	5.7	
Negro:										
Owners	128	75.9	14.1	78.1	4.7	55.0	4.7	71.9	7.8	
Renters	253	69.6	15.8	76.7	1.2	43.9	.8	53.4	7.5	
Croppers	372	64.0	15.3	65.5	3.0	47.8	-	53.5	4.6	
Laborers	89	49.4	21.3	53.9	5.6	32.6	-	38.2	4.5	

1/ Omitting percentages for those failing to respond or giving uncertain responses.

favor that part of the Soil Conservation program whereby the Government pays farmers for conserving or improving soil fertility?" Laborers gave both the smallest proportion of affirmative responses and the largest proportion of negative responses, one out of every four in the North opposing the program. The proportions giving responses classified as uncertain are again quite large in the South, but the consistent decline of favorable responses as we go down the tenure ladder is not thereby concealed. There seems to be little difference in the relative proportions expressing approval of the soil conservation program in the South as compared with the acreage reduction program. In the North, however, the soil conservation program clearly has received the more cordial reception. The size of the opposition, similarly, is smaller regarding the soil conservation program than toward the reduction program both in the North and in the South. In brief, the former program has apparently aroused less opposition than the latter; in the South it has about the same proportion of supporters as the acreage reduction program, but in the North it has a larger proportion.

In contrast to the responses regarding both the acreage reduction program and the soil conservation program, tenure differences with respect to the Resettlement Administration program seem to follow racial rather than regional lines. The question was: "Do you favor that part of the Resettlement Administration program whereby the Government helps needy farmers 'to get on their feet'?" Among white farmers, both North and South, non-owners tend to be more favorable than owners. Among Negroes, on the other hand, the most favorable group consists of owners. But with respect to the Negro farmers in this comparison, the large proportion of uncertain responses is probably of more significance than either the favorable or the unfavorable reactions. Between two-thirds and three-fourths of the white farmers favor the program of the Resettlement Administration, but about one-half of all Negro farmers seem to know too little about it to give definite responses. Tenure differences with respect to opposition toward this program are small, the least favorable groups reporting less than 10 percent actual opposition. We may say that where the Resettlement Administration is known at all by our farmers it is known favorably, but it is slightly more often approved by non-owners than by owners. Negro farmers on the whole know too little about it to express either their approval or disapproval.

That the men whom we interviewed made frequent references to farmers' credit problems has already been indicated. What, then, do they have to say about the Federal agency that looks after these matters, the Farm Credit Administration? The question was: "Do you favor that part of the Farm Credit Administration program whereby the Government makes loans to farmers?" White farmers, both North and South, in most cases approve. The pattern of tenure differences with regard to approval are very similar to that found in the case of the Soil Conservation program. Owners in the

South are most favorable, while renters, croppers, and laborers respectively show diminishing support; in the North, renters lead the support, while owners fall between renters and laborers in this respect. The proportions who are apparently too insufficiently informed to give definite responses are again largest in the Negro group, smaller among Southern whites, and smallest in the North, and they decrease generally from the lowest to the highest tenure classes.

Only in the case of owners among Negro farmers is the proportion of these uncertain responses small enough for us to be quite clear as to how the members of the group feel about the Farm Credit Administration. Practically three out of every four Negro owners, just as among owners in the other two sample populations, give favorable responses. The declining proportions that express approval as we go down the Negro tenure ladder are rendered insignificant by the large proportions expressing uncertainty.

By way of summary we may say that the opposition to the Farm Credit Administration is very small - smaller, in fact, than that reported regarding any of the other governmental programs considered. Insofar as this agency is known, it is favorably looked upon by both Northern and Southern farmers, but non-owners among Negroes are comparatively little acquainted with it. Tenure differences, although small, tend to be in opposite directions in the North and South among white farmers, but they cannot be clearly discerned among Negroes because non-owning Negro farmers generally know practically nothing about the program.

Appraisal of Own and Other Families' Conditions

Certainly one of the key questions that should show whether a man feels he is well off or bad off is the question: "Would you rather be doing something else?" As we want to know whether farm tenants really think they are in less favorable circumstances than owners and whether they truly want to become owners in order to better themselves, we shall discuss further their attitudes toward ownership. But even more fundamental, it would seem, is this question: "Would you rather farm than do anything else for a living?" Tenure classes do not show clear and consistent differences in their responses to this question. Negro farm laborers more often than any other tenure class, regardless of race or region, say they would prefer other occupations to farming. The next highest proportion giving this type of response is found among white part-owners in the South. Among the white farm laborers in the North not one says he would prefer some other occupation to farming. Landlords and owners in the North, on the contrary, more often than any other tenure class in that sample population, say they would rather do something else for a living (Table 57).

In this country of opportunity, parents often reveal their occupational preferences more candidly through what they hope to have their

children do for a living than by what they themselves may be doing. All sorts of circumstances may prevent a person from achieving his cherished ambition, but there is little to deter him from saying just what he would like to see a son accomplish. Accordingly, this was our next question: "If you had your choice what would you prefer to have a son do for a living?" The answers reveal no consistent tenure differences but there are some interesting findings.

Table 57.- Percentages of farmers who would, or would not, rather farm than do anything else for a living 1/

	: Northern		: Southern white		: Negro	
Tenure status	: Other	:	: Other	:	: Other	:
	: Farm	: Occupation	: Farm	: Occupation	: Farm	: Occupation
Landlords and full owners	74.5	13.1	77.6	13.4	91.7	2.8
Part-owners	82.3	3.1	68.3	14.6	78.9	10.5
Renters	84.8	6.8	84.0	10.9	90.5	4.7
Croppers	-	-	77.4	13.1	85.5	5.9
Laborers	82.6	-	86.8	7.5	73.0	16.9

1/ Omitting percentages for those failing to respond or giving uncertain responses.

Among Negro farmers, almost all of whom prefer farming for themselves, over half of the full and part-owners, renters, and farm laborers, and about 40 percent of the landlords and croppers, would choose occupations other than farming for sons if they had a chance. Even so, Negro landowners almost without exception are greater advocates of farming for their sons than are white owners. Within the group of Southern white farmers, the proportions of those favoring other occupations are about the same regardless of tenure class; but those who would prefer a son to farm are fewest among part-owners and croppers, increasing proportionately in the categories of landlords, full owners, renters, and farm laborers. Among the laborers more than half express this opinion.

Turning now to farmers in the North, we find them expressing with the greatest frequency the individualistic type of response: "I have no preference, I would leave it up to him to decide for himself." On the other hand, preferences for farming as compared with preferences for other occupations are predominant, regardless of tenure class, in this region. Among Northern farmers, in other words, there are about three farmers who say they would prefer their sons to farm for every one who says he would prefer to have his son do something else.

Table 58-A.- Percentages of farmers who would prefer a son to farm, or to do something else for a living, or who express no preference ^{1/}

Sample population and tenure status:	Total	Percent reporting		
	number : of cases :	Farm	No preference	Other occupation
Northern:				
Landlords	110	33	32	8
Full owners	149	30	29	16
Part-owners	96	41	33	10
Tenants	263	38	22	18
Laborers	69	38	26	14
Southern white:				
Landlords	195	34	24	17
Full owners	162	35	22	20
Part-owners	41	20	27	20
Renters	275	38	22	22
Croppers	168	30	25	22
Laborers	53	35	17	17
Negro:				
Landlords	32	50	6	38
Full owners	77	36	3	51
Part-owners	19	32	5	53
Renters	253	38	5	52
Croppers	372	42	4	43
Laborers	89	29	11	54

Table 58-B.- Percentages of farmers, classified by type of occupational experience, who would prefer a son to farm or to do something else for a living, or who express no preference ^{1/}

Sample population, tenure status and occupational experience	Total : number : of cases :	Percent reporting		
		Farm	No preference	Other occupation
Northern:				
Landlords -				
Farm	81	36	31	7
Non-farm	29	28	34	10
Full and part-owners -				
Farm	185	36	30	13
Non-farm	60	28	32	15
Tenants -				
Farm	175	38	22	17
Non-farm	88	36	20	20
Laborers -				
Farm	47	38	25	13
Non-farm	22	36	27	18
Southern white:				
Landlords -				
Farm	119	39	23	15
Non-farm	76	25	26	21
Full and part-owners -				
Farm	130	31	25	17
Non-farm	73	33	19	26
Renters -				
Farm	189	39	19	25
Non-farm	86	37	29	16
Croppers -				
Farm	133	26	28	25
Non-farm	35	46	14	11
Laborers -				
Farm	329	44	19	25
Non-farm	21	71	14	5
Negro:				
Landlords -				
Farm	21	57	5	33
Non-farm	11	36	9	45
Full and part-owners -				
Farm	67	33	0	57
Non-farm	29	41	10	38
Renters -				
Farm	180	38	4	53
Non-farm	73	38	7	51
Croppers -				
Farm	280	44	4	40
Non-farm	92	37	4	53
Laborers -				
Farm	61	29	15	52
Non-farm	28	29	4	57

^{1/} Omitting percentages for those not reporting and those whose answers were too indefinite to classify.

The contrast between part-owners in the three sample populations is pronounced: for every Northern part-owner preferring another occupation for his son there are four who prefer farming; among white farmers in the South, the ratio is practically one to one; and among Negro farmers, the pendulum swings in the opposite direction, preferences for other occupations far exceeding those for farming. If wishes mean anything, farming is evidently regarded with very different feelings by Northern, Southern white, and colored farmers. Tenure-class differences within the three sample populations are overshadowed by the differences of region and race (Table 58-A).

It is axiomatic that one's wishes are influenced considerably by one's experience. Let us, therefore, separate our informants into two categories on the basis of their having had farm experience only or their having had other experience in addition to farming. If we take up those who have worked and lived only on farms, we find that Negro landlords stand apart by the predominance of those preferring farming for their sons although it must be noted that this percentage is based on a very small number. When we take up Negro landlords who are acquainted with life off the farm, although their number is likewise small, the proportion preferring farming declines considerably. The most striking point to be made from the figures dealing with those reporting "farm experience only" is the large proportion of Negro owners and part-owners who would prefer their sons to follow their occupations. These men know plenty about farm life, but have doubtless heard much of advantages off the farm. When we examine the preferences of colored owners and part-owners who have actually had non-farm experience, we find that the situation is actually reversed; more of this group express farming as their preference than indicate other occupations. 16/

The closest agreement found among the farmers in any tenure class appears among Southern white farm laborers. Their experiences off the farm, evidently, have been so disappointing that almost three out of every four want their sons to be farmers, and only one out of a total of twenty-one, or 5 percent, which is less than in any similar category, prefers his son to follow some other occupation. Among other Southern white farmers with non-farm experience, the proportions who want their sons to be farmers consistently decrease as we go up the tenure hierarchy. If we begin with farm laborers and examine croppers, renters, owners, and part-owners in turn, we find when we reach landlords that only one of these in four definitely prefers farming for a son. On the basis of the foregoing, it is impossible to say that non-farm experience affects farmers similarly, regardless of race, region, or tenure class, with respect to preferences for occupations (Table 58-B).

Farmers in each sample population who expressed a preference for farming as an occupation for their sons wished their sons to be owners

16/ The small number of cases and the smallness of the percentage differences necessitates caution in the interpretation of these figures.

in such overwhelming proportions that tenure class comparisons are superfluous.

The next question was: "Do you think a son should be willing to sacrifice some convenience to become a farm owner?" The responses reveal little uncertainty and even less disagreement as to the need for sacrifice. Definite opinions to the effect that sons should sacrifice to attain ownership are held by ninety-five out of one hundred farmers in the South, both white and colored. The proportions expressing uncertainty are largest in the North, being from two to three times as large as in the South. Only in the North do we find anyone expressing the opinion that ownership is not worth making sacrifices to attain, and even there the proportion is only one in a hundred (Table 59).

Table 59.— Percentages of farmers preferring a son to be a farm owner who think he should be willing to sacrifice some convenience to become an owner

Response	Northern		Southern white		Negro	
	: Owners	: Non-Owners	: Owners	: Non-Owners	: Owners	: Non-Owners
Should	94	88	96	96	98	98
Should not	1	1	-	-	-	-
Uncertain	5	11	4	4	2	2
Total number reporting	116	124	136	180	49	281

The final inquiry in this group was: "Do you think the Government ought to help him (that is, a son) to become a farm owner?" The responses to this question show consistent tenure differences, regardless of race and region, but the differences between sample populations are greater than the differences between the tenure classes. In each case, the proportion favoring governmental assistance is larger among non-owners, the difference being greatest in the North, smaller among Southern whites, and least among Southern Negro farmers. The proportions definitely opposed to having the Government aid their sons attain ownership follow the opposite sequence (Fig. 14, p. 90).

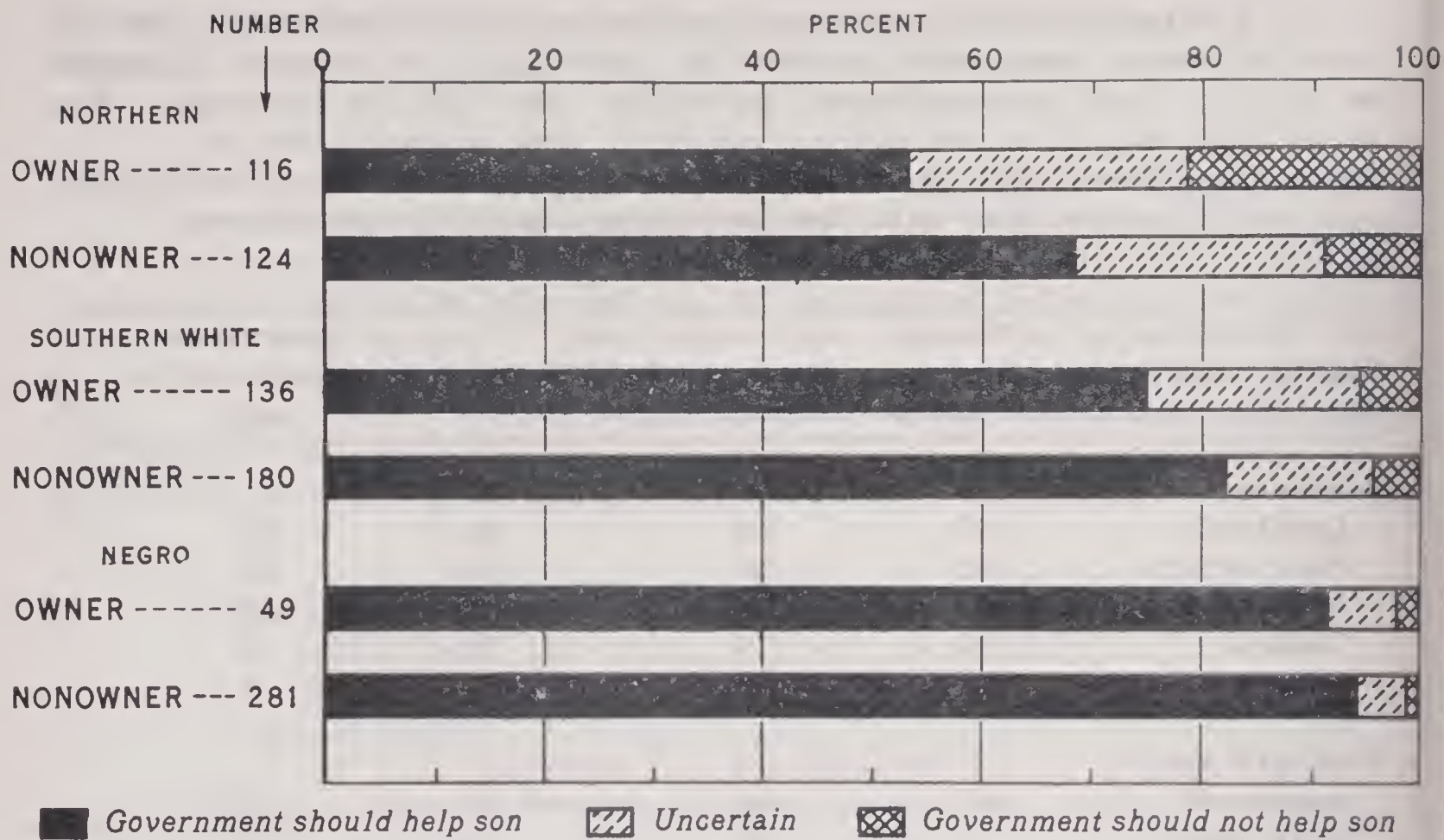
A more detailed tenure classification reveals significant differences. Landlords among whites, both North and South, show far less eagerness for the Government to aid their sons than do full owners. Full owners similarly show less of such interest than do part-owners. Renters in the North reach the highest point among Northern tenure classes when it comes to desiring governmental facilitation of sons' ownership (Table 60).

Turning now from questions dealing with farm ownership, let us take up several questions intended to throw light on farmers' opinions as to how their circumstances, generally, can best be improved. The

Table 60.- Percentages of farmers who would prefer to have a son become a farmer and who think the Government should, or should not, help a son to become a farm owner

	: Total	:	:	: Government
Sample population:	number	: Government	: Uncertain	: should not
and tenure status:	of cases	: should help	:	: help
Northern:				
Landlords	36	39	33	28
Full owners	42	52	24	24
Part-owners	38	68	18	13
Tenants	98	70	19	10
Laborers	26	61	35	4
Southern white:				
Landlords	67	64	24	12
Full owners	61	85	15	-
Part-owners	8	87	12	-
Renters	102	80	16	4
Croppers	49	88	8	4
Laborers	29	79	14	7
Negro:				
Landlords	16	94	6	-
Full owners	27	89	7	4
Part-owners	6	100	-	-
Renters	96	96	3	1
Croppers	159	93	6	1
Laborers	25	96	4	-

first of these is as follows: "Do you think you would be better off if your farm were bigger?" Tenure differences regarding the wish for a farm larger than the present one are fairly consistent. The lower tenure classes think they would be better off with larger farms, although landlords seem to regard larger farms as liabilities rather than assets. Conversely, those definitely not preferring a bigger farm decline proportionally as we go down the tenure ladder. But from this comparison the most important finding seems to be that the white farmers, regardless of tenure class, who want bigger farms are fewer than those who expressly do not want bigger farms, while Negroes, except in the farm-owning classes, evidence a preponderance in the opposite direction (Table 61).

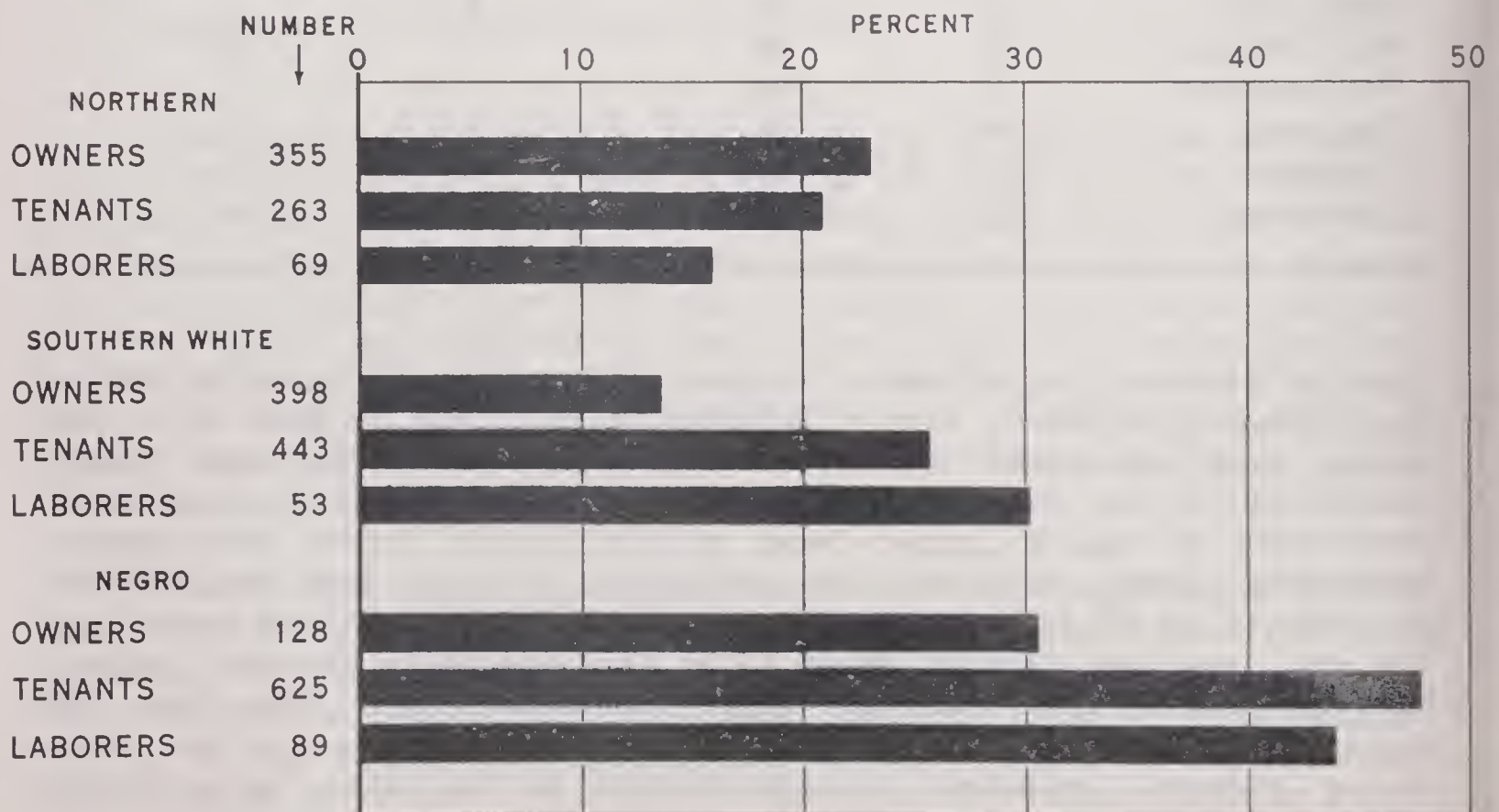


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NEG. 32719

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FIGURE 14.- PERCENTAGES OF OWNING AND NON-OWNING FARMERS WHO THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD, OR SHOULD NOT, HELP A SON TO BECOME A FARM OWNER.



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 32673

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIGURE 15.- PERCENTAGES OF FARMERS WHO SAY THEY ARE NOT SATISFIED WITH THEIR PRESENT CREDIT ARRANGEMENTS.

Further significant tenure differences appear when we consider the proportions of farmers who are not satisfied with their present credit

Table 61.- Percentages of farmers who think they would or would not be better off if present farm were bigger

	: Total	: Percentages reporting		
Sample population	: number	:	:	: Not
and tenure status	: reporting:	Better off	: Uncertain	: better off
<hr/>				
Northern:				
Landlords	110	22	14	62
Full and part-owners	245	31	12	55
Tenants	263	35	10	55
Southern white:				
Landlords	195	21	13	63
Full and part-owners	203	34	12	51
Renters	275	27	9	61
Croppers	168	30	10	58
Negro:				
Landlords	32	22	9	69
Full and part-owners	96	45	5	46
Renters	253	49	8	42
Croppers	372	55	7	36

arrangements. In the North the proportions who are dissatisfied decline as we go from owners through renters to laborers, whereas among Southern whites this trend in tenure differences is exactly reversed. The fact that there are much larger proportions of dissatisfied farmers among Negroes than among whites, however, seems even more significant than the tenure differences appearing within the South (Fig. 15). Looking into the effect of kinship upon credit arrangements, we find that it makes practically no difference in the North with respect to this question whether or not one is renting from, or working for, a relative. In the South, on the contrary, the related group is for the most part better satisfied with credit arrangements than the unrelated group; moreover, the former among Negroes seem to be even better satisfied than owners. 17/

Following up those informants who express dissatisfaction with present credit arrangements with this question, "What one change would you like to make?" we find that laborers are dissatisfied because the

17/ The percentages of non-owners satisfied with present credit arrangements are as follows: Northern related, 72, unrelated, 73; Southern white, related 77, unrelated, 66; Negro related, 76, unrelated, 44.

amount of credit available is too limited, while all other tenure classes would chiefly prefer lower interest rates. These generalizations hold true in all three sample populations (Table 62).

Table 62.- Percentages of farmers dissatisfied with present credit arrangements who suggest specified changes

Sample population and tenure status	:	:	Percentages suggesting		
			:	:	:
	Total	Lower	Longer	Increased	
	number	interest	period for	amount	
	:reporting:	rate	repayment	of credit	
	:	:	:	obtainable	
Northern:					
Owners	82	83	2	4	
Tenants	55	74	5	13	
Laborers	11	18	18	45	
Southern white:					
Owners	55	57	6	11	
Tenants	114	51	3	13	
Laborers	16	19	-	37	
Negro:					
Owners	39	61	8	18	
Tenants	298	45	5	25	
Laborers	39	36	3	44	

Consistent tenure differences also appear among responses to this question, "Do you think your present farming practices are improving the soil on this farm, not affecting its fertility, or harming it?" In each sample population, the proportions who think they are improving the soil are largest among owners, less among renters, and least among croppers (Table 63).

Do members of one tenure class feel that they are better off or worse off than members of other tenure classes living in the same neighborhood? Do owners more frequently than non-owners express satisfaction with their circumstances, or do tenure classes differ not at all with respect to these subjective feelings of satisfaction? The answer is, clearly, that there are significant and consistent tenure differences: in each sample population landlords most frequently say they feel better off than their neighbors, while owners and part-owners express this feeling of superiority more often than the lower tenure classes. Conversely, the proportion of responses indicating a feeling of being in worse circumstances than their neighbors appears most frequently among farm laborers, and next most often, in the South, among croppers (Table 64).

Table 63.- Percentages of farmers who think their present farming practices are improving, not affecting, or harming the soil on their farms

Sample population : Total number :		Percentages reporting			
and tenure status :		reporting	Improving	Not affecting	Harming
Northern:					
Owner	355	69	21	10	
Tenant	263	59	25	16	
Southern white:					
Owner	398	77	15	8	
Renter	275	68	23	8	
Cropper	168	62	30	6	
Negro:					
Owner	128	72	13	12	
Renter	253	66	19	11	
Cropper	372	64	17	13	

Table 64.- Percentages of farmers who think their family, as compared with the average in their neighborhood, is better off, worse off, or the same as the average

Sample population : Total number :		Percentages reporting		
and tenure status :		reporting	Better off ;	Average : Worse off
Northern:				
Landlords	110	35	61	4
Full owners	149	29	68	3
Part-owners	96	28	71	1
Tenants	263	6	89	5
Laborers	69	6	67	26
Southern white:				
Landlords	195	29	67	3
Full owners	162	11	83	6
Part-owners	41	7	85	7
Renters	275	6	84	9
Croppers	168	2	76	21
Laborers	53	4	47	49
Negro:				
Landlords	32	44	47	9
Full owners	77	17	64	18
Part-owners	19	26	53	21
Renters	253	5	76	19
Croppers	372	3	65	30
Laborers	89	3	52	45

By what criteria does a farmer judge that his family is better off or worse off than those of his neighbors? Combining all the owning classes into one group and the non-owning classes into another group, we find certain differences that are consistent, regardless of region or race. Two of these consistencies are striking: (1) the frequency with which farm owners mention the ownership of, or the possession of an equity in, a farm, farm land, or a home; (2) the fact that non-owners more frequently than owners mention food, clothing, or food and clothing as the factors by which they judge themselves to be better off than their neighbors. It is important to note that the proportion of owners who speak of ownership as contributing to a sense of superiority is smallest in the North, larger among Southern whites, and largest among Negroes. The proportions who speak of material necessities are largest among Negroes, smaller among whites in the South, and smallest among Northern farmers. It is surprising to find that the group least often mentioning financial arrangements - income, savings, or debts - as a basis for a feeling of superiority is composed of Negro farm owners. In this respect the Negro group shows tenure differences that are the opposite of those existing in both white sample populations (Table 65).

Taking up the responses that explain why some farmers feel worse off than their neighbors, we find that general financial conditions (including income, savings, debts, etc.) are most frequently specified. In this comparison the thinking of the farmers in the three sample populations is contrasted even more clearly than before. About two-thirds of the owners in the North who feel themselves worse off than their neighbors give this response, whereas Negro owners who feel themselves in bad circumstances mention it in only one case out of ten. One-fourth of the latter group indicate the possession of, or an equity in, farm land or a home as the basis for feeling worse off. General living conditions, food and/or clothing are mentioned more frequently by Negroes than by whites, either Northern or Southern (Table 65).

Another approach was made to the same problem by means of this question, "If you inherited \$500 today, what would you do with it?" The responses that could be classified as "invest in farm, home, etc." are much more frequent among non-owners in the South, both Negro and white, than in the North. Less than two in ten Northern tenants say they would dispose of their money in this way, while six in ten Negro renters and five in ten white renters in the South give the same type of response. In the North, payment on obligations, mortgage debts, etc., are mentioned most often, both by owners and renters.

It is obvious that the attitude of the farm- or home-owner toward his place is strikingly different from that of a non-owner when we see the frequency with which the phrase "farm and/or home improvements" is mentioned by the former as desirable, and the rarity with which it appears among the responses of the latter. The differences are astonishingly large, but they are greater in the South than in the North, and greater among the Negroes than among the Southern whites. In other words, the

Table 65.- Percentages of farmers who specify certain respects in which their families are better off or worse off than the average in their neighborhoods. 1/

Item	Better off		Worse off	
	Owners		Non-owners	
	Owners	Non-owners	Owners	Non-owners
Northern:				
Number of cases	110	21	9	30
Percentage specifying:				
Financial conditions	48	43	67	40
General living conditions	17	38	-	7
Farm/home ownership	17	-	-	-
Food and/or clothing	1	5	11	-
Southern white:				
Number of cases	77	23	17	86
Percentage specifying:				
Financial conditions	36	35	41	34
General living conditions	19	17	6	23
Farm/home ownership	32	13	6	12
Food and/or clothing	-	13	6	1
Negro:				
Number of cases	32	29	21	198
Percentage specifying:				
Financial conditions	12	17	9	30
General living conditions	22	41	14	26
Farm/home ownership	44	3	24	1
Food and/or clothing	3	21	14	20

1/ Omitting percentages for those reporting other reasons and those not reporting.

chances that a Negro non-owning farmer who comes into some unexpected money would spend any of it in improving the house in which he lives, or the farm which he works, are apparently exceedingly slim; on the other hand, if he be an owner, he is more likely to dispose of it in this way than in any other.

The fundamental matter of living expenses (food, clothing, etc.) rarely occurs to the Northern farmers, and in only a small proportion of cases, to the Southern white farmers; but among the Negroes the proportion is insignificant only among owners, increasing to one in ten among renters, one in six among croppers, and one in five among laborers. In other words, the Negro farm laborer, if we may judge by his responses to this imaginary situation, would be over twenty times as likely as the Northern farm laborer to spend a portion of a cash windfall for food and

clothing, and he would make such expenditures about four times as often as the Southern white farm laborer. As compared with other tenure classes among Negroes, he would probably dispose of his money in this way about eleven times as often as the Negro owner, about twice as often as the Negro renter, but only slightly more often than the Negro cropper. In the North, on the other hand, owners, renters, and laborers show practically no difference in the likelihood of their using their money for living expenses.

Consistent tenure differences appear in the frequency with which the idea of saving an imaginary inheritance occurs, owners giving this response most often, laborers least often, while renters and croppers specify it with a frequency somewhere between these two extremes. However, within any tenure class a comparison of sample populations shows that Northern farmers mention saving most frequently, Southern whites somewhat less, and Negro farmers least of all (Table 66).

Closely related to one's evaluation of his own condition is the way in which he evaluates the conditions of others. Certainly it is of importance to learn whether any particular tenure class, regardless of region or race, is consistently regarded as being in the most undesirable position with respect to all other tenure classes. Therefore, this question was asked: "What class of people around here do you think is worst off?" 18/ In all three sample populations the tenure class mentioned most frequently by the members of any tenure class is the farm laborer. This is on the basis of responses of farm laborers themselves. Croppers in the South are inclined to think that croppers more frequently than laborers are worst off. Renters, regardless of race or region, think that renters are worst off, while owners think that owners are worst off. But the

18/ We did not ask: "What farm tenure class do you think is worst off?" We hoped that by the general question we might come to some understanding of how farm people tend to think of social classes, of what pigeon-holes or categories they use when they think of people in groups. But it was difficult to avoid giving suggestions because often the farmers had no idea of what "class of people" might mean. We found no burning "class consciousness" among the so-called exploited groups. After we had explained what we were driving at, we found we had sometimes suggested the idea of tenure classes. So we could not attach much significance to the frequency with which categories other than farm tenure classes were mentioned as a basis for classification. For example, "Negroes" are mentioned as worst off in the South by both white and colored farmers - more often by Negroes than by whites, but we cannot conclude from our figures that about 5 percent of white farmers and about 10 percent of colored farmers think of race when they think of social class. If we had asked first: "Which race do you think is in general worst off?" the Negro group would probably have been mentioned much more often. Even so, we think that the relative frequency with which the various tenure classes were mentioned as being worst off has some significance in and of itself.

Table 66.- Percentages of farmers who say they would dispose of hypothetical inheritance of \$500 in specified ways 1/

Sample population and proposed use	Owners	Renters	Croppers	Laborers
Northern:				
Living expenses	2		1 <u>2/</u>	1
Farm operating expenses	8		27	9
Farm and/or home improvements	18		2	4
Pay on obligations	40		31	10
Invest in farm or home	10		19	35
Save it	13		11	6
Total number of cases	355		263 <u>2/</u>	69
Southern white:				
Living expenses	2	4	7	6
Farm operating expenses	10	8	12	15
Farm and/or home improvements	22	2	3	-
Pay on obligations	21	17	10	7
Invest in farm or home	17	49	43	47
Save it	13	8	9	6
Total number of cases	398	275	168	53
Negro:				
Living expenses	2	10	16	22
Farm operating expenses	11	19	19	24
Farm and/or home improvements	32	1	1	-
Pay on obligations	24	2	2	1
Invest in farm or home	19	60	49	43
Save it	7	3	5	3
Total number of cases	128	253	372	89

1/ Omitting percentages for "all other" and "no response."

2/ Figures for Northern croppers included with those for renters.

proportion of farm laborers who think that farm laborers are worst off is very high compared with the other groups of informants who consider members of their own tenure class to be worst off. Among Southern whites, for instance, there are, relatively, five farm laborers who say that laborers are worst off to every owner who says that owners are worst off. Among farmers in the North, similarly, there are two laborers who say that laborers are worst off to every owner who says that owners are worst off. In the South, after farm laborers, croppers are mentioned most frequently as being worst off. The proportion mentioning croppers is highest among croppers, lower among farm laborers, still lower among renters, and lowest among owners.

Several differences between the sample populations may be pointed out. Fewer farmers in the North than in the South give a definite response of any kind, suggesting again better general circumstances or less clear class differentiations. Unemployed farm laborers or displaced tenants are mentioned as being worst off by about one white farmer in twenty in the South, but by no Northern farmers and practically no Negro farmers. Relief, rehabilitation, or Works Progress Administration clients are never mentioned by Negroes as being worst off. Occasionally they are indicated by both Northern and Southern white farmers. In the South white farmers sometimes mention the white race as being worst off, but Negroes never do, while, on the other hand, both Negroes and whites mention Negroes as being the worst off in a relatively small but perceptible number of cases (Table 67).

One further topic remains: how do farmers account for these various classes of people being "worst off"? The question asked was: "What do you think causes them (that is, the class specified as worst off) to be worst off?" Let us begin with the class mentioned most frequently, farm laborers. According to laborers themselves, in all three of the sample populations, the most important factor is the smallness of their income or wages. If we combine the explanations given by members of all tenure classes other than laborers, we find that there is much less close agreement, the proportions of non-laborers giving this explanation being much smaller than laborers among whites, and slightly smaller among Negroes. The next most important factor is thought to be the infrequency or irregularity of work available to the farm laborer. In this case, again, laborers and non-laborers seem to be in much closer agreement among Negroes than they are among whites; furthermore, irregularity of work is mentioned by Negro laborers more often than by non-laborers, while white farm laborers mention this difficulty considerably less often than do white non-laborers (Table 68-A).

Croppers are regarded as worse off so rarely in the North, that it is impossible to analyze the factors regarded as responsible, but in the South this procedure yields some striking findings. The frequency with which the explanations of Southern colored farmers involve the idea of unfair treatment, or injustice of some sort, as responsible for the cropper's plight is of indubitable significance. Among Negroes, this

Table 67.- Percentages of farmers who specify certain classes in their neighborhoods as "worst off" 1/

Class considered :	:	:	:	:
"worst off" :	Owners :	Renters :	Croppers :	Laborers
Northern:				
Owners	19		15 <u>2/</u>	10
Renters	9		12	6
Croppers	-		-	-
Laborers	19		19	39
"Farmers"	-		-	-
Displaced or unemployed	-		-	-
Relief clients	2		3	6
White folk	-		-	-
Negroes	-		-	-
"Shiftless"	-		-	-
"All bad off"	13		11	7
Southern white:				
Owners	11	2	3	2
Renters	16	18	14	7
Croppers	14	17	26	7
Laborers	15	21	14	53
"Farmers"	4	5	6	4
Displaced or unemployed	5	5	6	-
Relief clients	2	3	1	-
White folk	3	1	-	-
Negroes	5	3	5	2
"Shiftless"	2	2	2	2
"All bad off"	8	5	8	2
Negro:				
Owners	9	1	-	-
Renters	5	17	3	-
Croppers	26	24	43	19
Laborers	25	25	25	45
"Farmers"	-	1	-	-
Displaced or unemployed	1	-	-	-
Relief clients	-	-	-	-
White folk	-	-	-	-
Negroes	4	9	10	17
"Shiftless"	1	-	-	-
"All bad off"	4	-	2	-

1/ Omitting percentages for those who did not respond. For total number of cases on which percentages were based see Table 131, p. 251.

2/ Figures for Northern croppers included with those for renters.

Table 68-A.- Percentages of farmers who specify certain causes for farm laborers' families being worst off

Cause	Northern		Southern white		Negro	
	Laborers	Other than laborers	Laborers	Other than laborers	Laborers	Other than laborers
Low income or wages	74	35	57	24	55	45
Irregular work or unemployment	18	34	36	49	35	29
Total number reporting	27	117	28	140	40	189

Table 68-B.- Percentages of southern farmers who specify certain causes for croppers' families being worst off

Cause	Southern white		Negro	
	Croppers	Other than croppers	Croppers	Other than croppers
Low income or wages	14	9	21	12
Irregular work or unemployment	1	9	3	4
"Shiftlessness" and bad management	7	34	1	5
Unfairness or injustice	7	8	33	34
Inadequate resources	9	9	5	6
Credit arrangements	5	2	4	4
Crop failure	12	6	1	1
Total number reporting	43	105	159	110

Table 68-C.- Percentages of white farmers who specify certain causes for renters' families being worst off

Cause	Northern		Southern white	
	Renters	Other than renters	Renters	Other than renters
Low income or profits	21	34	4	3
Irregular work or unemployment	-	-	6	3
"Shiftlessness" and bad management	-	3	6	19
Unfairness or injustice	6	9	6	3
Inadequate resources	-	-	14	22
Credit arrangement	3	3	6	1
Crop failure	21	20	20	19
Depression or low prices	12	6	2	6
Total number reporting	33	35	49	90

Table 68-D.- Percentages of white farmers who specify certain causes for owners' families being worst off

Cause	Northern		Southern white	
	Owners	Other than owners	Owners	Other than owners
Low income or profits	1	4	5	-
Bad management	1	-	2	-
Unfairness or injustice	-	-	5	-
Credit arrangement	70	62	17	17
Crop failure	4	8	17	25
Depression or low prices	9	6	14	25
Land boom or speculation	7	17	-	-
High taxes	-	-	14	-
Total number reporting	69	47	42	12

explanation is given in about one out of every three responses. Among white farmers in the South, where it occurs likewise, it appears in about one case out of fifteen. In other words, this sort of explanation is about five times as frequent among the responses of Negroes as among those of white farmers in the South. The implications of these findings point to better understanding not only of the migration of Negroes from farms to towns and cities, but also of their emigration from the South - their escape from treatment and conditions which they regard as basically unfair.

In the sharpest possible contrast to the foregoing explanation is that mentioned most frequently by white farmers, other than croppers, in the South: "shiftlessness, laziness, bad management, ignorance, etc." Croppers themselves find the explanation for their condition in this factor about one-fifth as often as farmers other than croppers. In other words, among all farmers other than croppers about one in every three who thinks that croppers are worst off attributes this condition to shiftlessness, while only about one out of fifteen croppers themselves thinks this to be the real explanation. Returning to a consideration of Negro responses regarding croppers, we find that this same factor of shiftlessness is mentioned only about one-seventh as often by Negro non-croppers as by white non-croppers, and by only about one in one hundred Negro croppers who feel their class to be worst off (Table 68-B).

Renters are so rarely regarded by Negroes as worst off that this tenure class will be considered only in the white sample populations. Renters in the North blame low income or small profits just as often as crop failure due to drought, hail, etc. These two factors alone account for two-fifths of all responses among renters. Over one-third of those other than renters who regard renters as being worst off specify the factor of low income or small profits. Adverse weather conditions are mentioned considerably less frequently. Inadequate capital, bad crop conditions, and shiftlessness or bad management on the part of the renter are thought to be significant factors by farmers other than renters in the South. Among Southern renters, on the other hand, crop failure seems to stand out as the most important factor; inadequate capital follows. Bad management and shiftlessness are regarded as no more important than unsatisfactory credit arrangements, unfairness and injustice, or irregular work and unemployment (Table 68-C).

Regional differences between white farmers who regard owners as being worst off are very great. Northern farm owners in over two cases out of three say they are worst off because of unsatisfactory credit arrangements, while only one in six Southern owners makes a similar claim. Non-owners, both North and South, mention this factor with similar frequencies. The most important factors, according to non-owners in the South, are geographic (bad crop conditions) and economic (low prices and the depression). These two categories account for half of all Southern non-owners' explanations. Southern owners, on the other hand, are thinking just as much of high taxes as they are of the depression and low prices, when they account for their being worst off (Table 68-D).

Chapter IV

THE AGRICULTURAL LADDER: HOW IS IT WORKING?

The Basic Problem: What Does the Idea Involve, and How Well Does It Fit Conditions Today?

It is impossible to discuss the farm tenancy problem at length without hearing about the "agricultural ladder." But, it is not at all certain that the idea of the ladder has the same implications for all people, that it means the same today as it did a generation ago, or that the basic conditions which it was originally intended to describe still remain.

The common conception of the agricultural ladder, as indicated in Chapter II, is that within the occupation of farming there exists a hierarchy of tenure classes through which the farmer normally passes somewhat as follows: beginning as a farm laborer with few resources, or none at all besides his own strength and determination, he receives a fixed wage and acquires experience, independence, and confidence while working for someone else. In the course of time, when he has developed these traits to a sufficient extent, he is able to climb to the next higher rung, that of a cropper. In this status his landlord furnishes not only the land but also most of the operating capital, and shares with him in the proceeds and risks of farming. Having evolved the aforementioned traits to a higher degree and having acquired some working capital, the cropper climbs up another step, assumes all or most of the risks of farming, pays simply for the use of his landlord's land, and makes all the profit he can from its cultivation. When he has secured enough cash to start paying on a piece of land, he climbs the precarious final step up to farm ownership. ^{19/} This in essence is the traditional conception of the agricultural ladder, its nature and its functioning. The concept is the legitimate offspring of a classically rational economics wedded to a youthful agriculture. But many a question is to be raised regarding the soundness of the theory before its present social acceptability can be established.

^{19/} This stage may or may not be divided into subclasses of ownership, such as the part-owner (who owns a portion of the land farmed, but rents the remainder from someone else), the mortgaged owner (who has a mortgage equity in all the land he farms), and the full owner (who owns his farms, free of encumbrance). The landlord, however, especially when he fulfills the modern mid-western mode by achieving a comfortable old age of retirement in California or on the Gulf, represents an epicurean anti-climax, fitting none too well into the rational traditional scheme of the agricultural ladder.

The first question we raise is this: "Is the ladder the same length from time to time and from place to place within this country?" In other words, is the number of rungs to be climbed in order to get to the top of the ladder a constant one? It is well known that there are not many sharecroppers in the North but that they are very numerous in the South. It would seem hardly correct, then, to regard climbing the ladder in the North and in the South as the same thing, when the ascent in the South involves one more step of differentiation. This is not to say it thereby becomes more or less difficult to start at the bottom and climb to the top but it is certainly different.

As to whether the ladder remains the same length, there also is an important question: "Does the space between rungs remain constant from time to time and from place to place?" If the ladder idea fits the situation at all well, the farmer improves his condition step by step, or rung by rung, and the gap that separates the first step from the second is not vastly different from that separating any other two steps. We want to know whether or not the climb from the bottom of the ladder as farm laborer to the top as farm owner is separated into equal steps, renters being as far below owners as they are above croppers, and croppers as far above laborers as they are below owners? Furthermore, we should like to know whether in different parts of the country the regularity or irregularity of the spacing of rungs on the ladder remains basically the same. Finally we want to find out whether the gap separating laborers from croppers, or renters from owners, for example, is the same today as it was when our grandfathers were young. There are many indications that the intervening distances do not remain the same: in one region the distance separating two particular tenure classes may be much greater than that between two tenure classes bearing the same name elsewhere. Furthermore, the gap in general seems to be greater today than it was a generation or two earlier.

A third question is this: "Is the steepness of the climb about the same from time to time and from place to place?" In other words, does a farmer have to strain and exert himself just as hard in order to make the climb now as formerly, or are the obstacles in one place as great today as in another? Some important factors are beyond the control of the individual farmer. They include such influences as: changing climatic or weather conditions; changes in the water table or in the quantity or quality of the topsoil, drought, dust and flood, all more or less due to the operation of numberless farmers of earlier generations of contemporaries in other regions, or of both; variations in the difficulty of getting farm products to market; and the maze of factors that affect the world price level of what the farmer produces, such factors as expanding or contracting markets and expanding or contracting sources of supply of the same products elsewhere.

In other words, it seems not at all correct to consider the agricultural ladder, regardless of other circumstances, as maintaining a

constant degree of steepness and involving just so much effort or exertion or skill to climb from one rung to the next.

A fourth point of inquiry is this: "Does everyone start climbing at the bottom rung?" It would seem, if the ladder idea be a correct picture of conditions that farmers all start from the same uniform level. It may have been true in the old days when one could go West, comply with the homestead regulations, and in the course of time become a farm owner; perhaps then everyone started more or less from scratch, and the faster one ran the farther one would get. But our farm country is no longer a wilderness waiting to be brought under cultivation: roads are already here, houses and barns have been built, fences have been put up, marshy places have been tilled, and dry places have had moisture brought to them.

Everyone knows how a farmer likes to pass on the old family place to an industrious son. Such a son a few generations ago, even if he had inherited farm property from his father, could not have inherited so much as he does today, for a great deal still remained to be done. But in these times the son who is faithful in little things on the family farm eventually becomes the ruler over its many acres, and he has a going concern to start with. Many a young farmer today begins, not at the bottom of the ladder, but on one of the higher rungs.

A fifth question may fairly be asked: "Does everyone climb to the top?" The agricultural ladder is usually thought of as something to be climbed to the top, not as something which offers equally attractive possibilities whether one stops on one rung or another. The rungs in the ladder are thought to be more like footholds, perhaps rough and uncomfortable, but useful as points of vantage from which to climb to levels more suitable for permanent residence. In reality, the agricultural ladder is not a kind of escalator that will eventually carry one to the top.

It is probably the fact that an increasingly larger proportion of farmers who started for the top of the ladder are failing to arrive, that is causing widespread concern about farm tenancy. Nobody is alarmed over the fact that babies today are just as helpless as they were a thousand years ago, because babies in the normal course of events become children, then youths, then adults. Imagine the consternation, however, if some mysterious malady should attack American babies leaving them in such a condition that larger and larger proportions of them stopped maturing in youth, or childhood, or infancy, and if constantly declining proportions reached adulthood. Then we would be alarmed about the baby problem.

Most of the factors so far discussed have been those external to the individual, but the makeup of the farmer himself should not be overlooked. There is this question, for example, "Is the urge to climb the ladder the same among all farmers?" Some people are strong, others are weak, some enjoy exercise, others prefer quiet, and some definitely prefer taking orders from others to assuming responsibility. If you were

to examine a hundred farm boys picked at random, it is highly improbable that the same degree of ambition, whether to farm, to become owners, or to do or to become anything else, would be found in each of them. All farmers are not necessarily driven by urges of the same strength to climb the tenure ladder. As a matter of fact, differences in degree of ambition are by no means the whole story, for the most ambitious farmer might prefer to buy no land at all, using his capital to rent and operate larger acreages than he could buy. There is the further question of the persistence of the climbing urge from one period to another. If the relative advantage or disadvantage of a particular tenure status does not remain constant, the strength of the farmer's desire to achieve it may vary correspondingly.

One final question remains: "Is climbing the tenure ladder an individual or a family matter?" This point has already been touched upon in connection with the question, "Do all farmers begin at the bottom of the ladder?" But it must be emphasized that the idea of a ladder by means of which the farmer can climb fails completely to take into account the importance of kinship groups - parents and grandparents, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, as well as more distant relatives - and the part they play in his success or failure. The pioneer, rarely accompanied by many relatives, could easily be thought of as a lone individual and largely responsible for his own success or failure. Now the farm boy usually grows up as but one member of a closely-knit group whose circumstances, possessions, interests and connections will be powerful influences in his own career. The isolated, purely rational individual is regarded today as the most significant unit only by an antiquated economics. Any comprehensive or realistic consideration of the farmer and his experiences with the agricultural ladder and its workings must take into account the influences of kinship groups, and particularly of the family.

It may not seem certain that the idea of a ladder is the most accurate figure of speech for expressing the relationship between the various tenure classes, or that "climbing the ladder" is the most suitable term for describing the process of moving from one tenure class to another. In any event, there is a basic patterning of behavior regarding which significant differences between regions, race groups, and tenure classes may be shown. We shall consider in this chapter some of the most important of these elements in the farmers' lifetime patterns and the bearing of a number of previously indicated factors upon farmers' tenure histories.

How Long Does It Take to Get There: Average Age of
Male Farmers, by Tenure Status

One of the fundamental problems to be considered regarding the functioning of the agricultural ladder is the number of years it takes a man, on the average, to move from the bottom to the top. The most

clearly apparent finding is that, in each of the sample groups, landlords are by far the oldest; full owners are younger than landlords; part-owners are younger than full owners; unrelated renters are younger than part-owners; and related renters are younger than those whose landlords are not kinsfolk.

At this point differences begin to appear between Northern and Southern farmers, and between white and Negro farmers in the South. Among Negroes the renters, croppers, and laborers who are dealing with relatives form a group which is, throughout, younger on the average than the renters, croppers, and laborers who are dealing with non-relatives. In other words, the age sequence, from oldest to youngest, is as follows: unrelated renters; unrelated croppers; unrelated laborers; related renters; related croppers; and finally, related laborers. Among white farmers, kinship to landlord seems to be less significant, for the related renters are just as old as, if not older than, the croppers renting from non-relatives; but among Negroes, the related renters are much younger than the unrelated croppers. The small number of laborers working for relatives in both the North and the South prevents our attaching too much significance to the average ages determined for members of these groups. But in the case of unrelated laborers the numbers involved are large enough to justify us in regarding as important the finding that unrelated laborers in each sample population are older than related croppers. Unrelated laborers in the North are of the same average age as are renters dealing with relatives. This would suggest either that the status of farm laborer is coming to be regarded as an acceptable permanent status by Northern farmers or that these men, if they are actually trying to climb the ladder, are laboring under much more serious handicaps than either croppers or related renters. These facts provide a necessary background for the next topic - the degree of success or failure reported by our farmers with respect to climbing the agricultural ladder (Table 69).

How the Ladder Has Been Working: Farmers' Tenure Histories

Let us begin by classifying our farmers according to the various tenure classes in which they started their farming careers. On this basis the general relationship between the farmer's first tenure status and his present tenure status quickly becomes apparent. If a farmer began as a landowner, three possibilities exist with respect to his tenure history; first, he may have remained a landowner (either landlord, full owner, or part-owner) for the duration of his experience; second, he may have dropped from landowner to renter, cropper, or laborer, but later he may have recovered his former status; finally, he may have started as landowner, but, subsequently becoming a renter, cropper, or laborer, he may have continued in one of the lower tenure statuses until the present time. In each sample population by far the largest proportion of farmers beginning as owners are now in the same tenure status (Table 70).

Table 69.- Average ages of male farmers

Tenure status	Northern		Southern white		Negro	
	:Average:		:Average:		:Average:	
	: Number	: age	: Number	: age	: Number	: age
Landlord	95	62.2	171	56.3	24	55.5
Full owner	145	53.9	149	50.2	67	51.9
Part-owner	95	50.5	39	47.4	18	48.4
Related renter	67	40.9	61	38.3	18	32.3
Unrelated renter	179	42.8	210	45.3	227	46.2
Related cropper	10	35.7	37	34.6	16	27.8
Unrelated cropper	6	37.5	130	38.8	333	41.7
Related laborer	9	33.4	5	41.4	2	26.0
Unrelated laborer	60	41.2	46	37.0	80	39.8

Table 70.- Percentages of farmers beginning in specified tenure classes, whose present status is higher than, same as, or lower than first tenure status

Sample population :	Total :	Percentage whose present status is -				
and first	number :					
tenure status :	of cases :	Higher	:	The same	:	Lower
<hr/>						
North:						
Owners	85	-		94		6
Renters	263	55		43		2
Croppers	45	80		16		4
Laborers	295	78		22		-
 Southern white:						
Owners	220	-		85		15
Renters	304	38		50		12
Croppers	253	54		44		2
Laborers	117	71		29		-
 Negro:						
Owners	27	-		89		11
Renters	173	21		64		15
Croppers	470	31		61		8
Laborers	172	76		24		-

The successful type of tenure history is reported most frequently among Northern farmers, less frequently among Southern whites, and least frequently among Negro farmers. A marked difference appears between the proportions of successful croppers in the North and in the South, the former having climbed higher far more often than the latter. With the exception of the Southern white croppers, the proportions of farmers who subsequently sank lower than their first tenure status are smaller in the North than in the South. Southern white farmers beginning as landowners and Negro farmers beginning as renters, judged on the basis of this comparison, seem to hold the most precarious positions, 15 percent in either instance having later dropped to a lower tenure status. In brief, the majority of Northern farmers who began as laborers, croppers, and renters, were, at the time of our inquiry, higher on the ladder than when they began farming. This is also true in the South of laborers, both white and Negro, and of white croppers. But only one-third of the white renters, less than one-third of the Negro croppers, and only one-fifth of the Negro renters, report similar net upward movement (Table 70).

Another way to determine how the agricultural ladder is functioning is to look back, after classifying the farmers, at the tenure status they occupied when they first began farming. This approach will show, from another point of view, whether present owners, renters, croppers, and laborers in the course of their lifetime have actually climbed, fallen, or come out on the same tenure plane. Present white owners in the South more frequently than present owners in the North or among Negroes began their farming careers as owners. Just about one-half of the white owners in the South have actually climbed from lower tenure statuses to landownership, whereas owners in the other two sample populations have climbed to their present positions in practically four cases out of every five. In other words, there are over two white owners in the South who began farming as owners for every one in the other two sample populations. Taking up the remaining tenure classes in the North, we see that over one-half of the present renters in the North have climbed to that status from beginnings either as laborers or croppers. This is true of even a larger proportion of the Negro renters, but of only about one-third of the white renters in the South. Likewise about one-third of the Northern croppers have climbed from the farm laborer status, while less than one-half as many croppers in the South, either white or Negro, have made a similar ascent.

Present farm laborers in the North only rarely report having begun on a higher rung of the agricultural ladder. About one-fourth advanced to other tenure statuses and then dropped back, but the majority began in the laborer status and have never left it. 20/ In the South the proportions of farm laborers who began farming on higher levels (probably

20/ It should be noted that the percentages in the column headed "Same" include both these types of tenure history.

largely as croppers) are striking in size. In fact, the Negro farm laborers beginning at other points on the ladder outnumber those who actually began as farm laborers. The proportion of white farm laborers, both Northern and Southern, who have climbed and fallen back into the laborer status is a sizeable fraction of all present farm laborers. We do not know whether this reversal of the traditional pattern was due to choice or necessity. But in either case it must be recognized that the ordinary conception of how the agricultural ladder works is far from the truth. Furthermore, it would seem clear from the comparisons we draw as we look back at tenure class origins, that the Southern white farmer has had about as much difficulty as, if not more than, the Negro in climbing the ladder. The Negro farm laborer alone seems to be worse off in this respect than the white farmer of the same status. The Northern farmer, on the other hand, although he has not escaped reverses, has been able more consistently to climb higher than his origin level on the tenure ladder (Table 71).

So far we have considered only the summary of farmers' lifetimes by comparing their first tenure status with their present status without reference to the time span involved or without reference to the time, if it was reported, at which reverses took place. What may be learned from analyzing all reversals of the normal procedure - all instances in which farmers dropped from one tenure status to another that was lower? Fourteen percent of all Northern farmers, 18 percent of all Southern white, and 22 percent of all Negro farmers report that they suffered, one or more reverses, the average number per farmer reporting any reversals being 1.2 in the North and 1.3 in the South (Table 72).

These reversals may be classified into three types: first, those in which an owner drops to the status of renter, cropper or laborer; second, those in which a renter drops to cropper or laborer; and third, those in which a cropper becomes a laborer. Over half of all drops reported in the North are those in which an owner became a renter or laborer, and of these practically six-sevenths are cases in which the owner became a renter. Not an instance of an owner becoming a cropper is reported, while one-seventh of the descending owners went down to the status of laborer. Changes from renter to cropper or laborer represent about one-third of all reversals in the North, and of these seven-eighths are drops from renter to laborer, only one-eighth of descending renters stopping in the cropper status. Less than one in ten of all drops reported by Northern farmers involve a shift from cropper to laborer status.

Among Southern whites the drops from the status of owner to some lower tenure class and from the status of renter to something lower are of about equal frequency, together accounting for five-sixths of all instances of reversals. Only one-sixth of all reversals in tenure status are from cropper to laborer. Of the descending owners about three-fourths became renters, about one out of five dropped straight from owner to cropper, and only a small proportion, about seven in one hundred, dropped

Table 71.- Percentages of farmers classified by present tenure status, whose present tenure status is higher than, same as, or lower than, first tenure status

		: Percentage reporting present status which is -			
Present	:	:	: Same as	: Same as first, :	
tenure	: Total	: Higher	: first, no	: intervening	: Lower
status	: number	: than	: change	: changes of	: than
	: of cases	: first	: of status	: status	: first
Northern:					
Owners	355	77.5	21.7	0.8	-
Renters	247	52.6	40.5	5.2	1.6
Croppers	16	37.5	43.8	-	18.7
Laborers	69	-	68.1	24.7	7.2
Southern white:					
Owners	398	53.0	44.7	2.3	-
Renters	275	37.1	48.7	6.9	7.3
Croppers	168	13.1	54.8	10.7	21.4
Laborers	53	-	35.8	28.4	35.8
Negro:					
Owners	128	81.2	17.2	1.6	-
Renters	253	55.7	38.4	5.1	.8
Croppers	372	18.6	65.6	11.0	4.8
Laborers	89	-	37.1	9.0	53.9

Table 72.- Percentages of farmers who report having descended the agricultural ladder one or more times during their farming careers, and proportions of these farmers classified by status from which descent was made

Item	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Total number of cases	687	894	842
Percent descending	14.3	18.5	22.0
Number descending	113	208	235
Highest status previously reached (percentage):			
Owners	56.6	43.8	10.6
Renters	34.5	39.9	53.2
Croppers	8.8	16.3	36.2

from owner to laborer. The drop from owner to cropper accounts for 20 per cent of descending Southern owners, but for none of the descending Northern owners. When we consider the drops of renters to lower statuses, we find an even more striking distinction between the North and the South, for the white renter in the South three times out of four lands as a cropper, while an even greater proportion of descending renters in the North go straight to the laborer status. Finally, the proportion of all reported drops among Southern whites that consist of a fall from cropper to laborer is about twice as large as in the North (Table 73).

Table 73.-- Farmers who report descending the agricultural ladder one or more times, classified by type of descent

Type of descent	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
From owner status:			
Total number of cases	64	91	25
Percent who became:			
Renter	86	72	56
Cropper	-	21	36
Laborer	14	7	8
From renter status:			
Total number of cases	39	83	125
Percent who became:			
Cropper	13	72	81
Laborer	87	28	19
From cropper to laborer status:			
Total number of cases	10	34	85

Reversals of the normal tenure history are most frequent, both absolutely and relatively, among Negro farmers. Relatively the most frequent drop, however, among Negro farmers is from renter to cropper or laborer. Over half of all colored farmers' drops are of this type, while only one in ten is from the status of owner to something lower. The importance of the drop from cropper to laborer among Negroes may be seen clearly when we note that 36 percent of all reversals in tenure history are of this type, this proportion being over twice as great among Negroes as among Southern white farmers and four times as great as among Northern farmers (Table 72). Although a majority of descending Negro owners drop from owner to renter, it is significant that over one-third of them go from owner straight to cropper, a proportion almost twice as great as

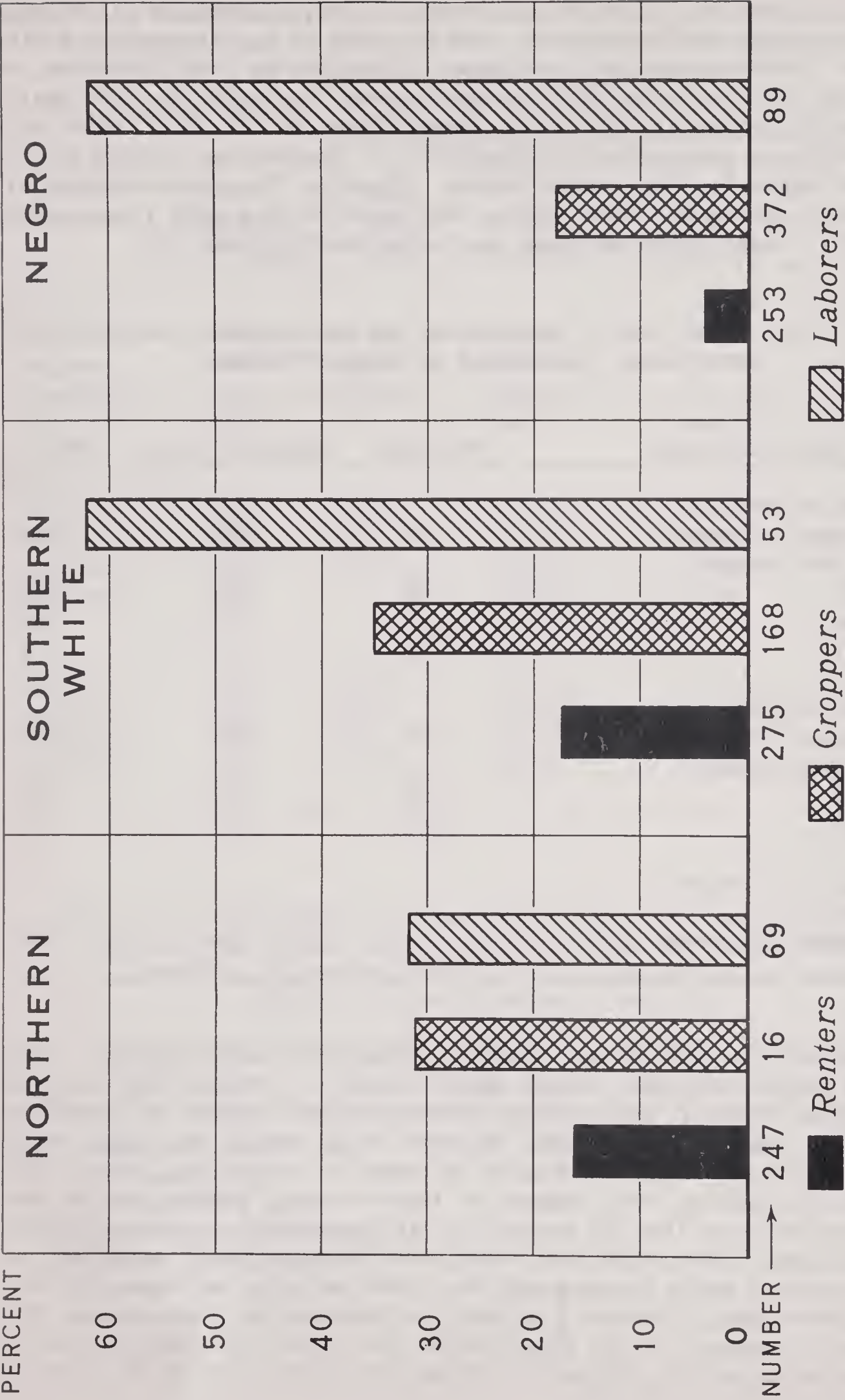


FIGURE 16.- PERCENTAGES OF PRESENT RENTERS, CROPPERS, AND LABORERS WHO NOW OCCUPY A TENURE STATUS LOWER THAN THE HIGHEST THEY HAVE EVER ATTAINED.

among white owners in the South. This is a type of drop not reported at all by descending owners in the North. Negro renters four times out of five drop to cropper status, which is not far from the proportion found among descending white renters (Table 73).

Now let us consider those farmers who at present occupy a tenure status lower than they have held at any time before. In this comparison we shall not be considering present owners. The question is, what proportion of present renters, croppers, and farm laborers look back upon some period in their farming history when they were higher on the agricultural ladder than they now are? About 16 percent of Northern renters have once been owners, while twice this proportion of Northern croppers and laborers have held some higher status. Among Southern whites the proportion of present renters who have previously been owners is practically the same as in the North. Farm laborers in the South, on the other hand, about twice as often as in the North have held some higher status. Among Negro farmers we find that only 4 percent of the present renters have ever been owners, and only 18 percent of all present croppers have ever held a higher tenure status. These proportions, being much smaller than those found among white farmers, suggest that the Negro farmer, once he becomes either a renter or an owner, clings more tenaciously to this higher tenure status than does the white farmer; or else, that the white farmer, if he is equally tenacious in his efforts, are less successful than those of the Negro farmer. Negro laborers, on the other hand, just as frequently as Southern white laborers have previously held a higher status. Briefly, we may say that about one-third of the white croppers, both Northern and Southern, and two-thirds of the Southern laborers, both white and colored, have previously held a higher tenure status than that which they now hold. In view of the relatively small number of croppers to be found in the North, it would seem that the most significance is to be found in the proportions of Southern farmers, croppers and especially laborers, for whom the agricultural ladder has functioned in reverse (Fig. 16).

Among all farmers whose tenure histories involve reversals, or drops down the agricultural ladder, what proportions have achieved as the highest tenure status ever attained the status of owner, of renter, or of cropper? By far the largest proportion (76 percent) of such farmers in the North have once been owners, and, therefore, may now be either renters, croppers, or farm laborers. About one-fifth of such farmers have once been renters and are now either croppers or laborers. Only one-twentieth have once been croppers and are now farm laborers. The relative size of the first of these three categories decreases abruptly as we go from Southern white to Negro farmers, while the second two categories increase in size with similar suddenness. Among Negro farmers who have dropped down the agricultural ladder, the proportion whose high point on the ladder was ownership is comparatively small, about 16 percent. The proportion who once were renters and are now croppers or laborers is practically 60 percent, and the proportion who once were croppers and

Table 75.- (A) Total numbers of individuals engaged in farming; (B) numbers reporting lower tenure status than that held during preceding year; and (C) percentage that (B) is of (A) for preceding year

Year	Northern			Southern white			Negro		
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(A)	(B)	(C)	(A)	(B)	(C)
1936	687	3	.4	894	21	2.4	842	28	3.4
1935	672	5	.8	865	8	1.0	817	20	2.5
1934	664	8	1.2	830	15	1.8	798	16	2.1
1933	646	3	.5	817	9	1.1	773	12	1.6
1932	636	13	2.1	786	4	1.8	755	9	1.2
1931	618	6	.9	759	7	.9	727	7	1.0
1930	605	6	1.0	739	9	1.3	707	10	1.5
1929	599	2	.3	720	7	1.0	688	8	1.2
1928	582	7	1.2	689	7	1.0	656	8	1.3
1927	567	3	.5	670	6	.9	625	10	1.7
1926	547	2	.4	660	4	.6	592	7	1.2
1925	535	3	.6	629	4	.7	566	4	.9
1924	508	4	.8	606	5	.8	546	4	.7
1923	494	1	.2	606	6	1.0	538	6	1.1
1922	487	4	.9	580	1	.2	521	5	1.0
1921	470	1	.2	564	9	1.6	499	11	2.3
1920	462	2	.4	546	8	1.5	484	8	1.5
1919	447	5	1.1	522	2	.4	462	1	.2
1918	436	1	.2	502	5	1.0	432	2	.5
1917	423	5	1.2	479	10	2.1	421	1	.2
1916	415	1	.2	469	2	.4	403	9	2.3
1915	414	1	.3	459	3	.7	386	4	1.1
1914	400	2	.5	435	5	1.2	369	2	.6
1913	379	2	.6	406	1	.3	350	3	.9
1912	363	-	-	381	-	-	339	4	1.2
1911	350	1	.3	369	7	2.0	321	4	1.3
1910	331	4	1.2	346	5	1.5	296	3	1.1
1909	325	2	.7	329	3	1.0	279	7	2.7
1908	306	2	.7	303	2	.7	263	2	.8
1907	290	1	.4	284	4	1.5	242	2	.9
1906	272	2	.8	266	-	-	232	2	.9
1905	249	1	.4	233	1	.5	217	-	-
1904	238	4	1.8	215	2	1.0	193	2	1.1
1903	225	-	-	209	5	2.6	175	1	.6
1902	212	-	-	191	2	1.1	163	-	-
1901	191	-	-	130	1	.6	156	3	1.3
1900	178	1	.6	169	3	2.0	134	-	-
1899	169	1	.6	150	-	-	126	3	2.5
1898	156	2	1.4	142	1	.8	118	1	1.0
1897	141	1	.8	133	2	1.6	103	1	1.1
1896	131	-	-	127	-	-	89	1	1.4
1895	109	1	1.1	114	-	-	71	-	-
1894	93	-	-	98	1	1.1	66	1	1.7
1893	77	-	-	87	-	-	59	2	4.2
1892	70	-	-	73	-	-	47	1	2.8
1891	59	-	-	68	1	-	36	-	-

are now laborers, is 25 percent. On the basis of these percentages we must make an exception of renters in the interpretation we previously made with regard to the success of Negroes in retaining a higher tenure status once they have achieved it. The proportions of Southern white farmers in each comparison are intermediate between those of Northern and Negro farmers (Table 74).

Table 74.- Percentages of farmers now occupying a tenure status lower than highest ever attained, classified by highest tenure status ever attained

Highest tenure status ever attained	:	:	:
	: Northern	: Southern white	: Negro
Owners	76	52	16
Renters	19	39	59
Croppers	4	9	25
Total number reporting	67	140	132

A final bit of analysis involves what may be termed an index of ownership hazards. Combining with all farmers who are now owners all the farmers who at some time in the past have been owners, we get a total ownership group. What proportion of this total group have descended from ownership at any time to some lower tenure status? The proportion is nearly the same in all three sample populations, being only slightly higher in the South (16 percent among whites, and 14 percent among Negroes) than in the North (13 percent). On the basis of these figures it would seem that the problem of assisting farm owners to retain their status is relatively about as important in one sample population as another.

If it is clearly understood, then, that reversals of the "normal" procedure may comprise significant proportions of farmers' experiences with the tenure ladder, we may go on to a consideration of how these reversals are distributed in time. A larger number of instances revealing descent of the ladder are reported in 1936 than in any preceding year covered by our data. The high points occurring previously differ in the three sample populations, and the figures for these three groups by no means increase or decrease together (Table 75, Column B).

More meaningful than the absolute frequencies, however, are the relative frequencies with which tenure status drops are reported. 21/ The instances of drops down the agricultural ladder (Table 75, Col. B) are reduced to percentages (Table 75, Col. C) of all individuals reported as engaged in farming occupations during the preceding year (Table 75, Col. A). It is clear from these percentages that descents of the agricultural ladder are relatively more frequent among Southern farmers, both white and colored, in 1936 than in any year of the last three decades. In the North, however, the situation is entirely different; there the peak proportion of drops appears in 1932, while the proportion in 1936 is the lowest since 1929.

Numerous factors cause both the numbers and the percentages representing instances of lowered status to fluctuate considerably from year to year. This fact makes it difficult to see clearly whether the drops at any particular time are trending up or down or are stationary. One method of bringing out with greater clearness the trend with regard to frequency of descents is by means of the so-called "moving average." 22/

21/ In order to get this type of information, the following steps were taken with the data: first, beginning with the total number of informants in a sample population, the number engaged in non-farm occupations in any one year were deducted from the total for that particular year; second, the number of individuals who had not yet begun an independent career, either at farming or at some occupation other than farming, by that year was ascertained and subtracted from the figure remaining after the first step had been taken; third, the annual figure thus obtained, representing the total number actually engaged in farming for that year, was used as a base (100 percent) from which to determine the percentage of individuals who in the following year reported a drop in tenure status (Table 75, Col. A). It is the percentages that the absolute numbers of reported drops are of the base figures for the preceding year which appear in Column C of Table 75. For example, the percentages for 1918 represent the proportions that farmers who occupied respectively higher tenure statuses in 1917 than they did in 1918 are of the total number of individuals (among those interviewed) who in 1917 were actually engaged in some farming occupation for themselves, i.e., any farming other than unpaid family labor.

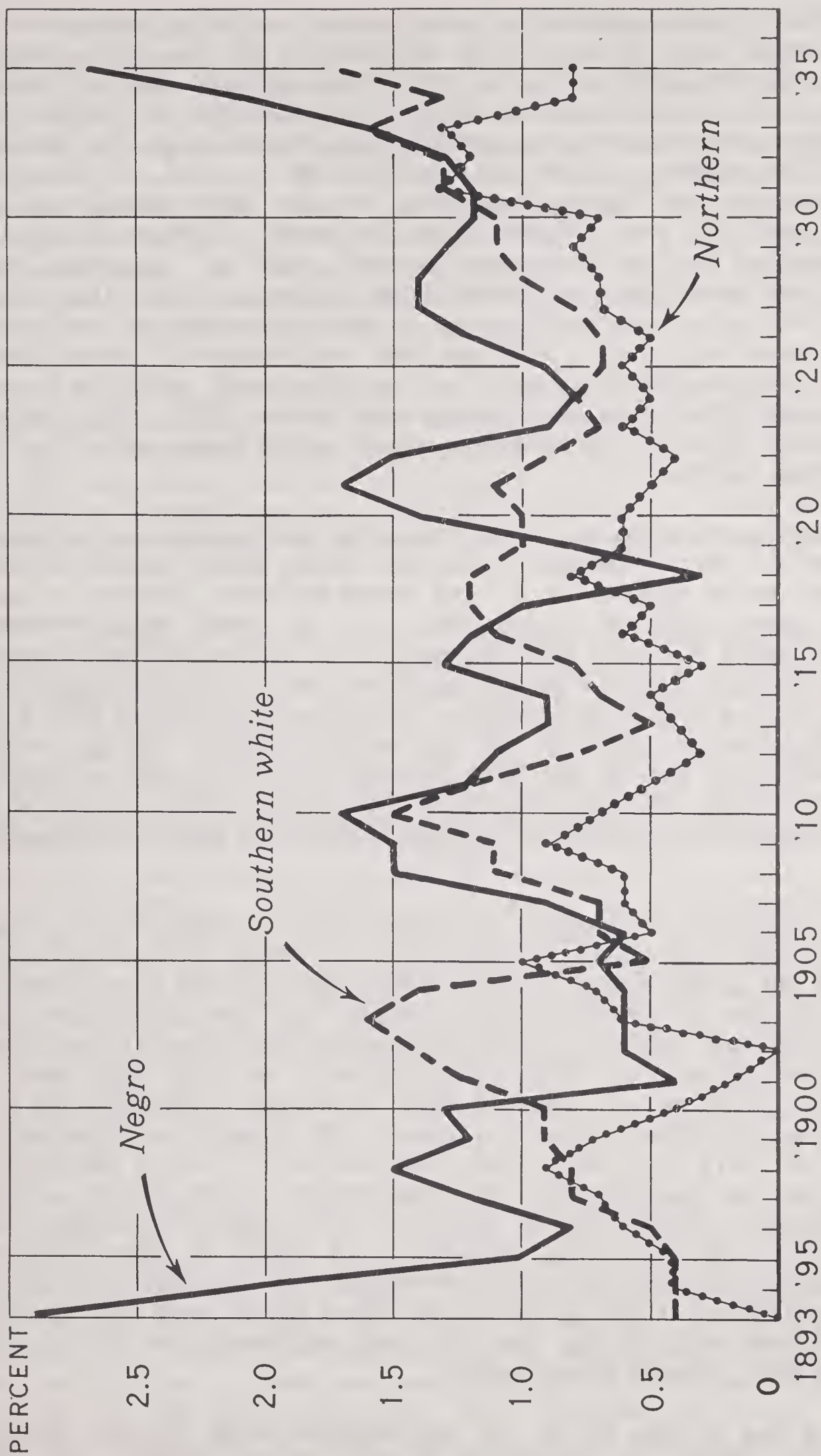
22/ The method consists of totaling the frequencies for a certain period of years, then dividing by the number of years in the period, thereby securing an annual average number of drops for that period. Then the frequency for the next later year is substituted for that of the earliest year of the period, and a new average is secured for the new period. For example, to find a three-year average we begin with the figure for 1892, add the figures for 1893 and 1894, and divide by three. Next we get the average for the three years 1893, 1894, and 1895, and so on. The curve of moving averages has not been extrapolated to give points for 1936. The implicit assumption on which such a procedure is necessarily based - that all relevant factors will remain constant or will change at the present rate - can scarcely be made today with any degree of confidence.

The most evident finding yielded by this type of analysis would seem to be that the proportions of drops vary differently for the three sample populations. In some periods the curves for colored and Southern white farmers seem to be moving together and in other periods the curves for all three sample populations seem similar; but extreme high and extreme low points of the separate curves fail to coincide in time. If you will study, for example, the figures appearing for the three sample populations in the year 1918 you will see that the number of Negro informants reporting descents for the three-year period, that is, including 1917 through 1919, is lower than any found either before or since that time. The curve for Northern farmers, although it has high points in the three-year periods centering in 1931, 1932 and 1933, has dropped off since then. The curve for Southern white farmers, on the other hand, with the exception of the year 1934, continues rising ever since 1926. This curve, however, does not show the decided drop found in the Negro curve for the period centering in 1918.

To summarize this material, the following observations may be made: the proportion of drops reported is highest among Negro farmers in 30, among Southern white farmers in 8, and among Northern farmers in only 1, of the 43 years involved (1893-1935); it is lowest among Northern farmers in 35, among Southern white farmers in 3, and among Negro farmers in 2, of the 43 years. In the remaining years, identical percentages are found for two of the sample populations. That tenure status is held with relatively the greatest security, on the basis of these findings, among Northern farmers may not be admitted because of the fewness of sharecroppers in the North. But the conclusion that tenure status is held with relatively the greatest insecurity by Negro farmers is almost inescapable (Fig. 17).

It is important to consider the distribution of descents or drops in space. In the Corn Belt, we find that in three of the four local areas sampled the proportions of farmers who have climbed since 1932 to a higher status (as of 1936) are much larger than the proportions who have dropped down the ladder, the former ranging from three to ten times as large as the latter. In Mercer County, Ohio, we find that about 7 percent report climbing as compared with less than 1 percent who report descending. In McLean County, Illinois, the proportion climbing is over one out of every ten, while less than one out of twenty report descending during the same period. In Jones County, Iowa, almost one in ten farmers report ascents, while one-third that proportion report descents. Only in Gentry County, Missouri, is there an exact balance between the proportions ascending and descending. If our sample is valid, and if the functioning of the agricultural ladder may be used as a criterion, it would seem safe to say that the past depression period has not affected Corn Belt farmers calamitously.

Turning now to the South, let us consider first the two areas, Beckham County, Oklahoma, and Collin County, Texas, where since few



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NEG. 32680 BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
FIGURE 17.- PERCENTAGES OF FARMERS REPORTING DROPS IN TENURE STATUS;
THREE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGE.

Negroes were included in the farm population, no schedules were taken from colored farmers. In both areas, the proportion of climbs is practically the same as the proportion of drops. The amount of fluctuation is much greater in the Dust Bowl county (Beckham County, Oklahoma) than in the Black Waxy Prairie area (Collin County, Texas); but the situation does not seem alarming for the proportions that are improving their status in either area are no less than those going from a higher to a lower status.

Among the counties in which both white and Negro farmers were interviewed, Red River Parish, Louisiana, reveals the largest ratio of descents to ascents. Among both whites and Negroes there are more than three farmers whose tenure status is reported as lower in 1936 than in 1932 to every one whose status is higher in 1936 than in 1932. In the most nearly comparable area, Jefferson County, Arkansas, Negroes are descending the ladder more frequently than ascending it, but in the white sample, farmers are climbing more frequently than dropping.

Going to the areas in which the proportion of ascents most exceeds the proportion of descents - we find that Union County, North Carolina, seems to offer the best situation for white farmers, while Nacogdoches County, Texas, is most favorable for Negro farmers. Both these areas represent far poorer land, and in general, apparently much less favorable conditions for farming than either Red River Parish or Jefferson County. In the face of such evidence and much more that is similar, it cannot be asserted dogmatically that the imperfect functioning of the agricultural ladder as well as most of the farmer's other socio-economic ills are exclusively attributable to poor land. Nor is the relationship between good land and high tenancy rates to be brushed aside as a paradoxical exception to the rule that saving the soil will save the people. To apply this rule with uncritical invariability is like a young doctor who, having prescribed successfully for his first patient, is unwilling to vary his prescription for any patient thereafter.

The other counties in which ascents exceed descents for white farmers are: Greenville County, South Carolina, Crockett County, Tennessee, and Nacogdoches County, Texas. The tenure histories of Negro farmers in Hale County, Alabama, Union County, North Carolina, Crockett County, Tennessee, in addition to the aforementioned Nacogdoches County, Texas, show similar excesses of climbs over descents. To summarize the Southern situation: in three areas among both white and colored farmers, ascents exceed descents (Union, North Carolina, Crockett, Tennessee, Nacogdoches, Texas); in one area drops exceed climbs among farmers of both races (Red River, Louisiana); in two areas ascents preponderate among white and descents among Negro farmers (Greenville, South Carolina, and Jefferson, Arkansas); and in the remaining bi-racial areas (Wilson, North Carolina, and Hale, Alabama) ascents exceed drops among Negro farmers, but the reverse is true among white farmers. Thus there are four instances of similarity between the races and four of dissimilarity with respect to

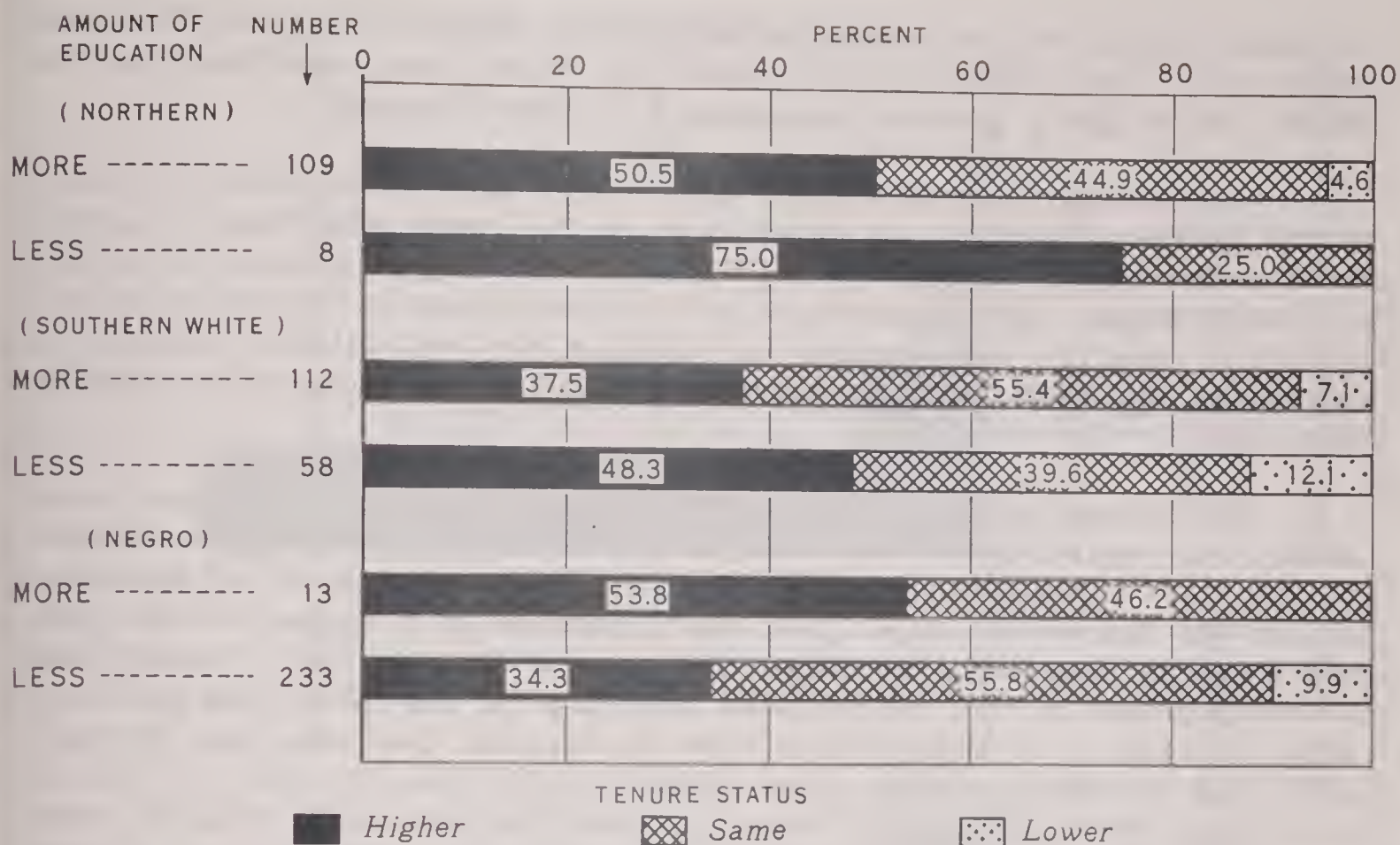
the recent functioning of the agricultural ladder. Unlimited generalization on this subject based on data taken in a single section of the South is scarcely justifiable (Table 76).

Table 76.- Percentages of farmers engaged in farming from 1932 through 1936 who ascended or descended the agricultural ladder during that period, classified by local areas

State and county	:	White			:	Negro		
		:	As-	De-		:	As-	De-
Northern:								
Iowa (Jones)	165	9.1	3.0					
Illinois (McLean)	147	11.6	4.1					
Missouri (Gentry)	161	4.3	4.3					
Ohio (Mercer)	165	6.7	.6					
Southern:								
Alabama (Hale)	29	3.4	6.9	175	5.7	1.1		
Arkansas (Jefferson)	31	12.9	9.7	168	8.3	13.1		
Louisiana (Red River Parish)	57	3.5	14.0	132	3.0	12.1		
North Carolina (Union)	137	10.2	2.9	52	7.7	5.8		
North Carolina (Wilson)	71	5.6	7.0	44	6.8	2.3		
Oklahoma (Beckham)	86	11.6	11.6	<u>1/</u>	<u>1/</u>	<u>1/</u>		
South Carolina (Greenville)	59	3.4	1.7	67	6.0	7.5		
Tennessee (Crockett)	112	8.9	3.6	40	15.0	10.0		
Texas (Collin)	88	6.8	5.7	<u>1/</u>	<u>1/</u>	<u>1/</u>		
Texas (Nacogdoches)	102	5.9	3.9	65	13.8	-		

1/ No Negroes interviewed.

Turning to the factors that may influence tenure histories, the first question raised is: What is the relationship between the amount of education the farmer receives and his success in climbing the ladder? It appears at first glance that the more education a farmer receives, the less likely he is to climb to a tenure status higher than that in which he began. The group called the "lower education" group includes those farmers who received not more than 4 years of schooling, while those who were classified as the "higher education" group had received more than an eighth grade education. Only the extremes with respect to amount of education received have been considered in order to get a sharper focus on the influence of education. Furthermore, since educational standards have been rising during recent decades, it was desirable to minimize confusion from this influence. Attention has been

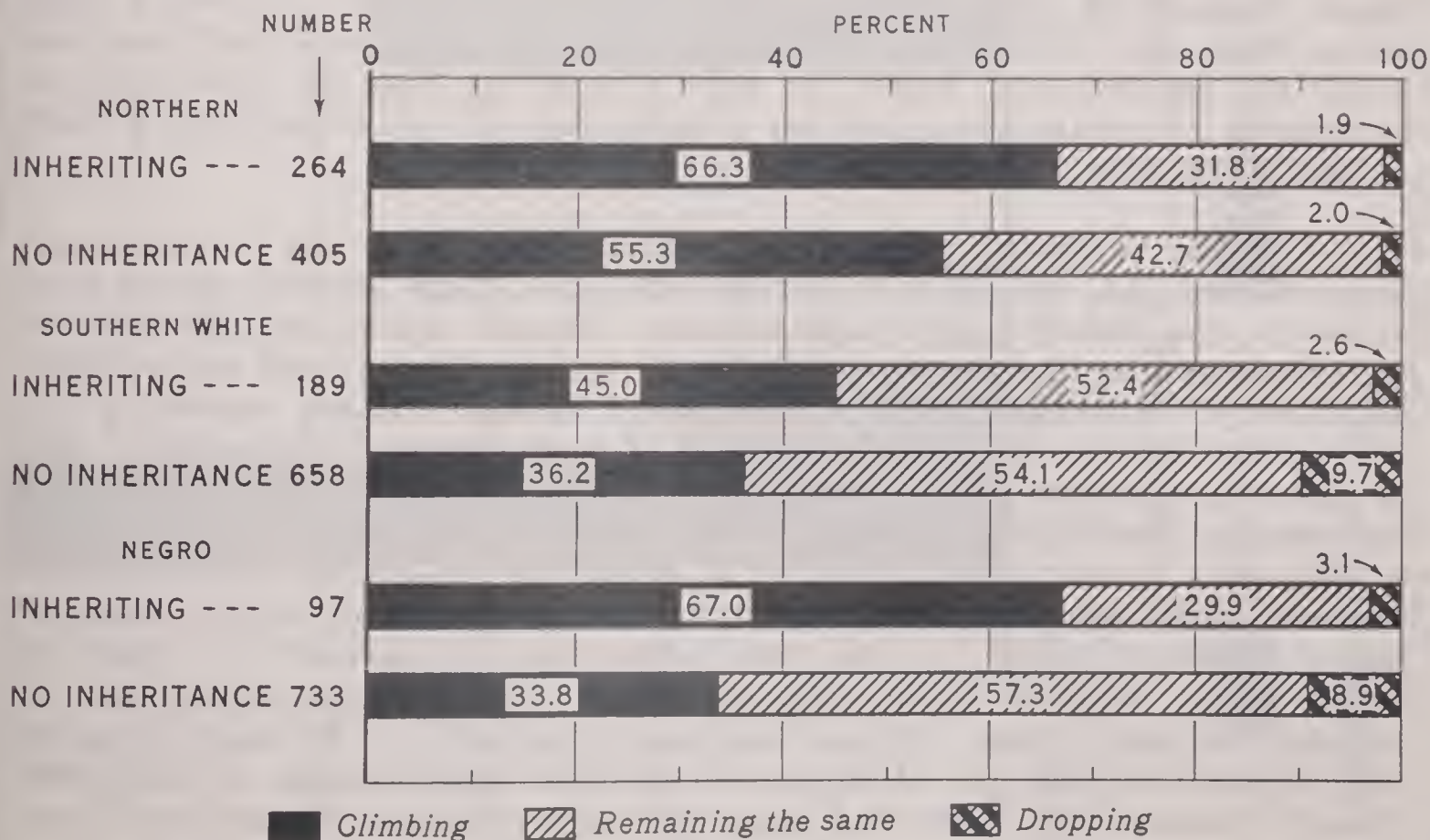


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NEG. 32757

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FIGURE 18.- PERCENTAGES OF FARMERS, CLASSIFIED BY AMOUNT OF EDUCATION RECEIVED, WHO REPORT CLIMBING TO A HIGHER, REMAINING IN THE SAME, OR DROPPING TO A LOWER TENURE STATUS THAN THAT IN WHICH THEY BEGAN FARMING.



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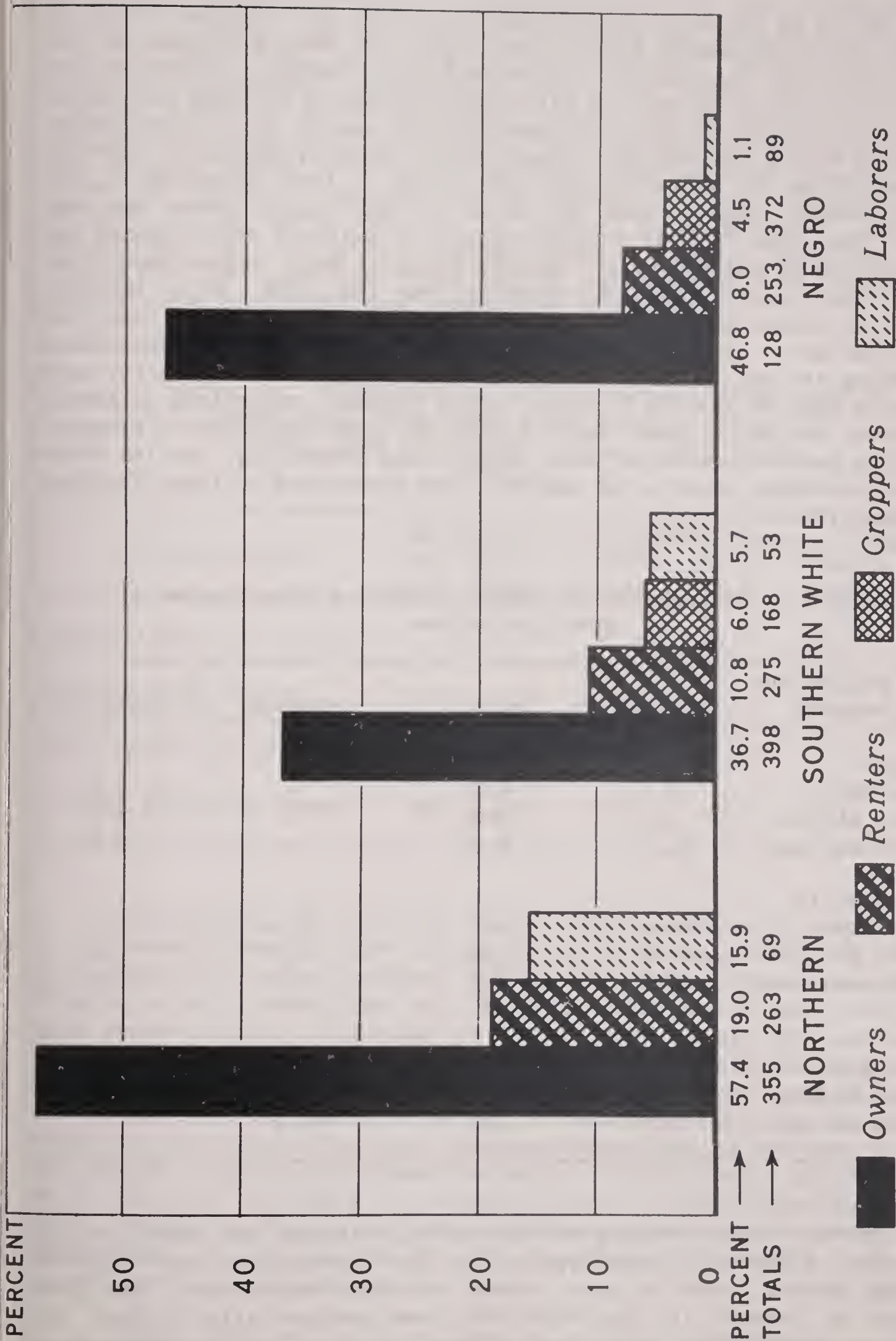
FIGURE 19.- PERCENTAGES OF FARMERS, CLASSIFIED BY RECEIPT OF INHERITANCE, WHO REPORT CLIMBING TO A HIGHER, REMAINING IN THE SAME, OR DROPPING TO A LOWER TENURE STATUS THAN THAT IN WHICH THEY BEGAN FARMING.

confined, therefore, to those farmers who at present are from 30 to 50 years old. Wide variety with respect to educational opportunities remains, but slightly greater homogeneity is thus attained.

The most serious difficulty met in this type of comparison is that so few Northern farmers are classified in the lower education category, while so few Negro farmers are classified in the higher education category. Nevertheless, it is important that the relationship between amount of education received and success in climbing the agricultural ladder is apparently the reverse among Negroes of what it is among white farmers (Fig. 18).

All farmers do not start from the same rung of the agricultural ladder; but regardless of where they start, some farmers are given a substantial lift through inheritance. Practically two-thirds of all Northern farmers who inherited property or cash advanced to a higher status than that in which they began farming. The same is true of Negro farmers who inherited property, but the relative advantage of the inheriting Northern farmer is seen to be much less in view of the fact that over half of non-inheriting Northern farmers also climbed while this is true of only a third of non-inheriting Negro farmers. Among Southern white farmers, even among those reporting inheritances, less than half advanced to a higher status than that in which they began farming. Consistently, however, the farmers who failed to inherit were unable to advance as often, proportionally, as those who inherited. Furthermore, the proportions of Southern farmers who at present are lower in the agricultural scale than when they began farming are much greater among those who failed to inherit than among those who inherited. Finally, since Northern non-inheritors descend the agricultural ladder no more frequently than do inheritors in that group, it would seem that the disadvantage of not inheriting is less in the North than it is in the South (Fig. 19).

It may be useful to point out somewhat more fully the frequency and size of heritages received by farmers who now occupy various tenure statuses in the three sample populations. Owners report having received inheritances much more often than members of any other tenure class. Comparatively, the proportions of the other tenure classes reporting inheritances are quite close together in each sample population. But Northern non-owners report more cases of inheritance than do Southern non-owners, and white non-owners in the South report more such cases than do Negroes. In each sample population among the non-owning tenure classes renters report more who have inherited than do the other tenure classes. Negro laborers report the smallest proportion (1 percent) of cases of inheritance, whereas Northern owners report the largest proportion (57 percent) of such cases. To him that hath is given.... We must recognize that present owners are older on the average than farmers in the lower tenure classes, and have had opportunity to survive relatives. Differences between the tenure classes with respect to the proportions reporting inheritance would probably be less striking if owners, renters, croppers, and laborers of approximately the same age were compared (Fig. 20).



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 32660

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIGURE 20.- PERCENTAGES OF FARMERS WHO HAVE RECEIVED INHERITANCES OF CASH OR PROPERTY.

Taking up the value of heritages received, we find that owners in each of the three sample populations report far more heritages of the larger valuations than do the non-owning tenure classes. In the smaller value-of-inheritance categories higher percentages of Northern non-owners report having received such heritages than do owners, but in the South, among both whites and Negroes, owners report larger proportions inheriting, regardless of value of the inheritance. About one-half of all Northern owners report that the value of their inheritance was over \$1,000. The same is true for one-fourth of Southern white owners and for one-fifth of Negro owners. Another fifth of Negro owners report receiving inheritances that are valued at less than \$500, while the proportions of owners among white farmers receiving heritages of this size is much smaller. In brief, Northern owners not only receive assistance in climbing the agricultural ladder by inheriting cash or property more frequently than do members in other tenure classes, regardless of sample population, but at the same time the value of those heritages is greater. Non-owning tenure classes not only inherit less frequently, but the value of their heritages tends to be smaller. The importance of these findings is evident (Table 77).

Table 77.- Percentages of farmers reporting inheritances of specified values

Sample population: and amounts	Owners	Renters	Croppers	Laborers
Northern:				
Under \$500	3.1	6.5	-	4.3
\$500 - \$1,000	3.1	4.6	-	4.3
\$1,000 and over	51.3	8.0	-	7.2
Southern white:				
Under \$500	6.9	4.7	2.4	1.9
\$500 - \$1,000	4.0	1.8	.6	1.9
\$1,000 and over	25.9	4.3	3.0	1.9
Negro:				
Under \$500	19.5	2.0	2.6	1.1
\$500 - \$1,000	8.6	4.0	.8	-
\$1,000 and over	18.7	2.0	1.1	-

Another factor bearing on success in climbing the ladder is the engaging of a farmer in some type of non-farm occupations for a shorter or longer period - what is here termed "non-farm experience." The proportions of farmers in the South who have successfully tackled the ladder are considerably larger among those reporting non-farm experience than among those not reporting such experience. The relative advantage

of this non-farm work seems to be approximately the same for Negroes and for white farmers. The proportions of farmers who report they now occupy a status lower than their first is about the same, however, in both occupational-experience categories. But in the North, on the contrary, relatively more of those farmers who report farming experience only have successfully climbed the ladder than of those who at some time have left the farm to engage in other occupations. The relative discrepancy between the non-farm experience and the exclusively farm-experience groups is less in the North than in the South. Among Northern farmers, as among those in the South, the proportions who report occupying a lower status now than when they began farming is practically the same regardless of type of occupational experience (Table 78).

Table 78.- Percentages of farmers classified by type of occupational experience whose present status is higher, same as, or lower than, first tenure status

Present status	: Northern		: Southern white		: Negro	
	: Farm	: Non-	: Farm	: Non-	: Farm	: Non-
	: only	: farm	: only	: farm	: only	: farm
Higher than first status	61.2	56.8	33.5	45.7	33.1	48.5
Same as first status	37.0	41.7	58.2	45.7	59.1	42.9
Lower than first status	1.8	1.5	8.3	8.6	7.8	8.6
Total number of cases	489	198	603	291	611	231

Considering the various tenure classes separately with respect to the significance of the factors of non-farm experience we find several significant relationships. In the North the highest proportion of farmers in any tenure class who report climbing higher than their original tenure status in farming is to be found among part-owners and owners who have engaged in non-farm occupations. Practically 90 percent of such individuals report climbing. On the other hand, among landlords the proportion who report climbing is somewhat higher in the case of those who have had exclusively farm experience than in the case of those who report non-farm experience as well. In the lower tenure classes either there is no marked difference between the two occupational groups with respect to the proportions climbing, remaining stationary, and descending, or the number of cases involved is so small that sound generalization is impossible.

Among Southern white farmers no striking differences appear in the cases of landlords, full owners, or part-owners. But among 69

Table 79.- Percentages of farmers whose present tenure status is higher than, same as, or lower than first tenure status, classified by type of occupational experience

Sample population, tenure class and occupational experience	: Total : number : of cases :	Present tenure status		
		Higher	Same	Lower
Northern:				
Landlords -				
Farm	82	68	32	-
Non-farm	28	54	46	-
Full owners -				
Farm	112	83	17	-
Non-farm	37	89	11	-
Part-owners -				
Farm	73	78	22	-
Non-farm	23	91	9	-
Related renters -				
Farm	43	51	47	2
Non-farm	24	46	50	4
Unrelated renters -				
Farm	121	56	42	2
Non-farm	59	49	50	-
Related croppers -				
Farm	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-
Non-farm	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-
Unrelated croppers -				
Farm	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-
Non-farm	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-
Related laborers -				
Farm	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-
Non-farm	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-
Unrelated laborers -				
Farm	39	-	92	8
Non-farm	21	-	95	5
Southern white:				
Landlords -				
Farm	119	45	55	-
Non-farm	76	42	58	-
Full owners -				
Farm	107	56	44	-
Non-farm	55	62	38	-
Part-owners -				
Farm	23	83	17	-
Non-farm	18	67	33	-
Related renters -				
Farm	44	23	73	4
Non-farm	18	39	61	-
Unrelated renters -				
Farm	144	35	57	8
Non-farm	69	51	41	9
Related croppers -				
Farm	30	-	83	17
Non-farm	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-
Unrelated croppers -				
Farm	104	9	70	21
Non-farm	27	44	26	30
Related laborers -				
Farm	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-
Non-farm	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-
Unrelated laborers -				
Farm	29	-	76	24
Non-farm	18	-	56	44
Negro:				
Landlords -				
Farm	21	81	19	-
Non-farm	11	73	27	-
Full owners -				
Farm	51	82	18	-
Non-farm	26	88	12	-
Part-owners -				
Farm	12	75	25	-
Non-farm	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-
Related renters -				
Farm	12	25	75	-
Non-farm	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-
Unrelated renters				
Farm	168	54	45	1
Non-farm	67	69	31	-
Related croppers -				
Farm	16	19	81	-
Non-farm	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-
Unrelated croppers -				
Farm	264	14	80	5
Non-farm	90	31	64	4
Related laborers -				
Farm	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-
Non-farm	-	-	-	-
Unrelated laborers -				
Farm	65	-	51	49
Non-farm	22	-	27	73

1/ Numbers of cases too small to compute percentages.

unrelated renters one-half of those who report non-farm experience are also able to report climbing whereas among 144 in the same tenure class who have engaged exclusively in farming report such advances in only 35 percent of all cases. It would seem that the relative advantage of non-farm occupations is especially great in the case of renters. An even greater percentage discrepancy in favor of the non-farm experience group is found among unrelated croppers, the proportions reporting climbing being 45 percent when non-farm experience is reported, and less than 10 percent when farm experience only is reported. On the other hand, there are fewer in the non-farm occupations category who retain the same status as that in which they began, and more who have dropped lower than their first status, than among those who report farm experience only.

In the case of Negro farm owners, as among Southern whites, no pronounced differences appear between the two occupational-experience groups with respect to success in climbing the agricultural ladder. But again, as in the case of white farmers, unrelated renters and unrelated croppers among Negroes who report non-farm experience also report successful climbing of the agricultural ladder more often than do the members of those tenure classes who engaged in no such non-farm occupations.

It would seem that non-farm occupations contribute to success in climbing the agricultural ladder most significantly in the case of Southern unrelated renters and croppers. Related renters and croppers, apparently, are just as likely, if not more likely, to be successful without working off the farm for a while. Farm owners, likewise, seem to have gained no material aid in achieving that final highest rung in the agricultural ladder by leaving the farm to engage in non-farm occupations (Table 79).

Other Elements in Farmers' Lifetime Patterns

After discussing at length the role of the agricultural ladder in the farmer's life, we now turn to some of the other important elements in his lifetime pattern of behavior. As in Chapter II, we shall consider the age at which members of the various tenure classes leave their parental homes, the age at which they marry, the tenure-class origin of farmers' mates, certain tenure-class differences with respect to farmers' families and households, and finally, education as it relates to tenure class. Our concern is primarily with the family as the group in which the farm child appears and grows to youth and manhood, and which he deserts in order to found a new family unit. Certain critical phases or points in this cycle through which the family passes may be taken as indicators of differences between the various tenure classes. We turn to the first of these significant indicators.

Table 80.- Average age at time of departure from home, by sex and generation

Tenure class 1/	Men		Women		Sons		Daughters	
	Total	Average age	Total	Average age	Total	Average age	Total	Average age
Northern:								
Landlords	76	23.2	82	21.1	67	21.9	64	21.0
Full owners	121	22.1	129	20.9	65	21.9	83	20.5
Part owners	78	22.1	87	21.3	39	22.0	48	20.8
Related renters	55	22.0	60	19.9	12	20.2	12	19.6
Unrelated renters	168	21.6	163	20.0	48	21.2	90	19.9
Related croppers	6	19.2	8	21.9	-	-	-	-
Unrelated croppers	7	17.3	5	17.6	-	-	2	22.5
Related laborers	7	20.1	7	19.7	2	24.5	2	20.5
Unrelated laborers	58	20.9	46	21.2	16	20.7	20	19.0
Southern white:								
Landlords	126	23.7	133	20.8	145	21.2	137	19.9
Full owners	112	22.0	122	20.2	107	20.7	112	19.2
Part owners	34	21.5	38	20.7	17	20.7	18	19.6
Related renters	51	21.3	50	19.3	9	23.7	12	19.0
Unrelated renters	185	21.8	184	19.5	90	20.7	123	19.3
Related croppers	18	21.8	19	18.5	3	19.0	4	16.5
Unrelated croppers	91	21.0	92	18.8	30	20.6	59	18.0
Related laborers	5	21.4	4	24.5	1	19.0	3	17.7
Unrelated laborers	38	18.0	41	19.1	11	19.3	11	18.7
Negro:								
Landlords	21	20.7	19	19.6	30	19.4	32	18.4
Full owners	51	21.1	50	20.1	50	20.6	44	19.5
Part owners	16	22.0	16	20.4	3	21.0	3	21.3
Related renters	15	20.4	16	18.7	-	-	3	16.0
Unrelated renters	190	20.5	162	19.7	79	20.8	95	18.9
Related croppers	15	21.3	16	18.9	-	-	1	17.0
Unrelated croppers	261	20.4	227	18.9	96	19.5	111	17.8
Related laborers	1	18.0	1	15.0	-	-	-	-
Unrelated laborers	64	20.0	45	19.5	11	20.9	20	17.5

1/ Present tenure class of adults and present tenure class of offspring's parents.

What differences do we find between the average ages at which farmers belonging to the various tenure classes left their parental homes? In the North we find that present landlords report having left their homes at the latest age. On the average they were 23 years old at this juncture in their lives. Full owners, part-owners, and related renters all report the same average age at departure from home, which is just one year younger than that reported by landlords. Unrelated renters were about one-half year younger when they left home than related renters. It should be kept in mind that, as we go down the tenure scale, present age of our informants tends to be lower. A consideration of the average ages at which members of the various tenure classes left home consequently involves not only tenure-class differences, but differences due to long-time influences that may possibly be affecting all tenure classes similarly in the course of time. Northern croppers and laborers are not only younger at present than members of the upper tenure classes, but they also report having left home at earlier ages than the members of other tenure classes. Present croppers, of whom there are few in the North, report the youngest average age at departure from home; those now renting from relatives left at an average age of somewhat over 19 years, and those renting from unrelated landlords at an average age of somewhat over 17 years. These average ages are lower even than those reported by laborers and represent a wide difference from those of landlords (Table 80).

Among Southern white farmers we find again that present landlords left their homes on the average considerably later in life than did members of any other tenure class. In fact, the average age is even higher in this case than in the North. Full owners, after landlords, have the highest average age at departure from home. Then come, in order of descending average age at time of departure, unrelated renters and related croppers, part-owners, related laborers, unrelated croppers, and related renters. Unrelated laborers represent a sharply divergent group who left home on the average almost 3 years earlier than did the members of any other tenure class. The average age at departure in this case is 18, representing a difference of nearly 6 years on the average between the time at which present unrelated laborers and present landlords left their parental homes (Table 80).

Among Negro farmers present part-owners report having left home at the latest average age, 22 years. The next oldest group are related croppers. Then come full owners and landlords, the average age descending from slightly above to somewhat below 21 years at time of departure. Unrelated renters, related renters, and unrelated croppers report practically the same average age (about 20½ years) at time of leaving home, while for unrelated farm laborers the age is only slightly less (20 years). In general we may say that the tendency is for white farmers to leave their homes later than Negroes, Northern farmers being slightly older on the average at this juncture even than Southern whites. Within the white-sample populations members of the lower tenure classes leave home at earlier ages than do those in the upper tenure classes (Table 80).

Had the tenure comparison been made in terms of the families from which our informants came rather than present tenure class, it would probably have been more significant. Information on informants' children to some extent satisfied this need. Whenever an informant reported that he had children who had grown up and left home, the age at which each son or daughter left was secured. It is therefore possible to compare the ages at which all landlord informants and landlords' sons, all owner informants and owners' sons, and so on, left their parental homes. Since lower tenure-class families often have not had time for offspring to grow up enough to leave home and marry, there are certain gaps in the information. But it is possible to indicate tenure differences in age at which informants' sons leave home, and differences between generations and between sexes. 23/

Northern landlords', full owners', part-owners', related renters', unrelated renters', and unrelated laborers' sons all report departure at an earlier age on the average than the generation of which their fathers are members. These generation differences are slight in most tenure classes, but considerable in the cases of landlords and related renters. In the former instance the difference between the older and the younger groups is over 1 year, dropping from over 23 years of age among informants to less than 22 years among sons. Among related renters the difference is even greater, the drop being from 22 years for informants to somewhat over 20 years for sons. The only instance in which sons report leaving home at an average age older than that specified by informants occurs among related laborers, of whom there are but very few (Table 80).

Among Southern white farmers the most pronounced age difference between generations based on adequate numbers is found in the case of landlords and landlords' sons. Present landlords report leaving home at an average age of over $23\frac{1}{2}$ years, while among landlords' sons the average is somewhat over 21 years. Less marked differences are discovered among full owners, part-owners, unrelated renters, and unrelated croppers. Wider generation differences, although based on comparatively few cases, exist among related croppers and related laborers. Two tenure categories, raising a question of interpretation despite the fact that neither involve large numbers, show the reverse tendency: related renters' and unrelated laborers' sons report leaving home at a later age, on the average, than that indicated by the farmers in those tenure classes (Table 80).

Among Negroes we find again that landlords', part-owners, owners', and unrelated croppers' sons leave at earlier average ages than did

23/ It should be pointed out that the average figures for the older generation are based upon the ages of all male informants in a particular tenure class whether they reported sons who had left home or not. A similar course was followed with respect to data involving women informants or informants' wives and their daughters.

informants in the respective tenure classes. The generation differences, however, are not so great as between white farmers and their sons. Two contradictory instances are found: unrelated renters' sons report leaving home at a slightly higher average age than did unrelated renters themselves; the same is true of unrelated laborers' sons. In the former instance, at least, the number of cases involved seems to be large enough to be significant, but the size of the difference is small (Table 80).

In summary we may say that the average age of departure from home reported by the sons of farmers in the various tenure classes, with few exceptions, is lower than that reported by the older generation. These exceptions are found only in non-owning tenure classes and, in general, are based on fewer cases than those which form the basis for the generalization. Among white farmers' sons, as among their fathers, those representing the lower tenure classes with few exceptions report leaving home at younger average ages than those representing the higher tenure classes. Among Negro farmers' sons, however, the lowest average age at departure from home is found among the sons of landlords, followed closely by the sons of unrelated croppers, while the sons of full and part-owners, of unrelated renters, and of unrelated laborers report leaving home at practically the same average age. These findings give further support to the thesis that not only are tenure class differences significant, but that these differences vary substantially between the three sample populations.

To complete the picture the same type of data as those given in the preceding paragraphs are presented with respect to female informants or male informants' wives and their daughters. With only negligible exceptions there is a similar trend toward younger age at departure on the part of daughters as compared with mothers. The generation differences are in the same direction but more consistent among women than among men. Furthermore, practically the same tendencies appear among women as among men with respect to relationship between tenure class and age at departure. That is, upper tenure-class wives among white farmers generally report leaving home at a later average age than those in the lower tenure classes, the same thing being true of their daughters. Among Negroes, apart from landlords' wives and landlords' daughters who report leaving home at an earlier age than is the case with full owners and part-owners, the same generation differences appear as were found among whites (Table 80).

That our farmers' wives and their daughters tend to leave their parental homes at an earlier age than do the farmers or their sons is true practically without exception in any tenure class or sample population, exceptions being found only when the number of cases involved is very small.

The second critical point to be considered is that of age at time of first marriage. Marriage takes place at ages that differ be-

Table 81.- Average age at time of first marriage, by sex and generation

Tenure class 1/	Men		Women		Sons		Daughters	
	Total	Average age	Total	Average age	Total	Average age	Total	Average age

Northern:

Landlords	85	25.7	83	22.3	24	24.0	32	22.0
Full owners	137	25.5	132	21.8	102	23.5	119	21.5
Part owners	90	25.6	89	22.4	26	22.5	30	21.6
Related renters	62	24.7	61	21.6	13	22.6	16	19.6
Unrelated renters	167	24.5	164	21.3	46	23.0	54	19.9
Related croppers	9	24.7	8	21.9	-	-	-	-
Unrelated croppers	7	22.1	5	20.4	-	-	2	22.5
Related laborers	8	23.1	8	21.2	1	29.0	2	20.0
Unrelated laborers	52	24.9	48	20.9	4	20.3	17	18.4

Southern white:

Landlords	157	26.0	162	21.4	80	22.6	82	21.0
Full owners	140	24.6	149	21.0	143	22.5	129	19.3
Part owners	37	25.1	41	21.1	9	22.6	7	20.7
Related renters	60	23.3	57	19.5	6	22.7	18	18.5
Unrelated renters	204	23.2	200	19.6	91	21.1	119	18.9
Related croppers	34	22.8	32	18.9	2	21.0	4	17.5
Unrelated croppers	126	22.3	123	19.1	30	21.5	52	18.6
Related laborers	4	22.2	5	20.0	-	-	4	17.0
Unrelated laborers	46	23.2	47	20.1	2	20.0	18	18.9

Negro:

Landlords	22	22.1	23	19.9	12	19.8	11	19.2
Full owners	66	23.4	66	20.2	56	21.6	58	18.6
Part owners	18	23.7	18	20.3	1	18.0	-	-
Related renters	17	22.4	18	19.4	1	23.0	5	16.2
Unrelated renters	216	21.8	197	20.1	89	20.6	121	18.7
Related croppers	16	22.1	17	18.9	3	19.7	7	19.1
Unrelated croppers	321	21.9	295	19.6	82	20.9	89	18.2
Related laborers	2	19.5	1	15.0	1	21.0	1	18.0
Unrelated laborers	74	22.2	63	19.3	7	23.1	10	17.7

1/ Present tenure class of adults and tenure class of offspring's parents at time of offspring's marriage.

tween the tenure classes in respects generally similar to those found in the case of age at departure from home. Among white farmers, both Northern and Southern, landlords report average age at marriage as being more advanced than do farmers in any other tenure class. The figure is but slightly lower in the case of Northern full owners and part-owners, while among Southern whites the difference is greater. Still younger in the North are renters, unrelated laborers, and related croppers, the youngest being unrelated croppers. The spread in average age at marriage is from about 22 years in the last-mentioned tenure class to nearly 26 in the case of landlords (Table 81).

The difference in average ages at time of marriage between non-owning and owning tenure classes among white farmers in the South is greater than that in the North, being almost $1\frac{1}{2}$ years on the average when we consider the youngest class of owners and the oldest class of non-owners, whereas in the North it is only slightly over one-half year. Related laborers and unrelated croppers among Southern whites report the youngest average age at time of marriage - somewhat above 22 years as contrasted with 26 for Southern white landlords (Table 81).

Among Negro farmers the average age at marriage among landlords is earlier than among full and part-owners, as was also true regarding their average age at time of leaving home; the latter two tenure classes report the highest average age at time of marriage among all Negro farmers. No great difference is found between the average age of renters, croppers, and unrelated laborers, for all of whom the figure is practically the same as that for landlords. Related laborers report by far the youngest average age at time of marriage, $19\frac{1}{2}$ years, which is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ years younger than in the case of other non-owning tenure classes and landlords, and about 4 years younger than full owners and part-owners (Table 81). To summarize, the tendency is for members of the lower tenure classes in each sample population to marry at earlier ages than those of the upper tenure classes, the most notable exception being found in the case of colored landlords.

It is of interest to compare members of the older and the younger generations with respect to age at first marriage. Sons pass this important milestone on the average at a considerably earlier age than did fathers of the older generation. The only instances in which exceptions occur are those in which the frequencies involved are very small. The average age at marriage of Northern landlords' sons, as among landlords themselves, is older than that for the representatives of any other tenure class; the figure for sons of full owners being next highest, followed in order of decreasing age by those of unrelated renters, related renters, and part-owners. The widest discrepancy found between fathers and sons is in the case of unrelated laborers, the sons in this category marrying at an average of slightly above 20 years, as compared with a figure slightly below 25 for their fathers. The small number of individuals involved, however, indicates these averages to be unstable (Table 81).

Among Southern whites we find in each instance that the average age of sons at time of marriage is considerably lower than that of their fathers. There is practically no difference in the figure reported by sons of landlords, full owners, part-owners, and related renters at time of marriage, but these as a group marry about $1\frac{1}{2}$ years later on the average than do unrelated renters' sons, and 1 year later on the average than unrelated croppers' sons. Tenure differences in this sample population, at least so far as the higher tenure classes are concerned, are smaller among sons than was true of the older generation. Nevertheless the tendency is still clearly for members of the lower tenure classes to marry earlier than those of the upper tenure classes (Table 81).

Among Negro farmers we find landlords' sons marrying earlier than sons from any other tenure class, the only exceptions being found among part-owners and related croppers, where only a few cases are involved. Unrelated renters' and unrelated croppers' sons marry on the average somewhat younger than do those of full owners. But although the number of cases is too small for the average to be stable, apparently the sons of unrelated laborers marry at an age later not only than that in any other tenure class among sons, but later even than most tenure classes in the older generation (Table 81).

To summarize, it may be said that the general tendency is for the sons of farmers in the lower tenure classes to marry at earlier ages than sons of farmers in the upper tenure classes. The most marked exception is found in the case of sons of Negro landlords who marry earlier than any other generation, tenure class, or sample population category.

Among farmers' wives and daughters, likewise, members of the younger generation tend to marry earlier than did those of the older generation. A few exceptions again appear but they involve only a few cases. Daughters of Northern farmers in the owning tenure classes marry about 2 years later on the average than do daughters of renters. Daughters of unrelated laborers, reporting lowest average age at time of marriage, marry still younger. The tenure differences in age at time of marriage that were present in the case of mothers seem, if anything to be accentuated in the case of daughters, a difference of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years appearing between daughters of landlords (22 years) and daughters of unrelated laborers ($18\frac{1}{2}$ years) (Table 81).

A similar tendency for even wider tenure differences in average age to appear among daughters than existed among mothers is found among Southern whites, but the extreme instances involve only a few cases. Daughters of landlords average 21 years at time of marriage; other owners' daughters marry earlier, and those of the lower tenure classes still earlier, the youngest being the daughters of related croppers and laborers (Table 81).

Among daughters of Negro farmers the highest average age at time of marriage appears in the case of daughters of landlords, followed

closely by daughters of related croppers, then by daughters of unrelated renters and full owners, the differences involved being comparatively slight. Younger still are the daughters of related renters. The entire range is about the same as that found in the case of the farmers' wives but, with minor exceptions, consistently lower. In general it may be said that our information with respect to age at marriage of farmers' wives and of their daughters is consistent with that previously presented, showing the members of the lower tenure classes to pass through this crucial stage in the lifetime cycle of behavior at an earlier age than do those of the upper tenure classes (Table 81).

Up to this point we have been considering simply the age at which marriage took place on the part of the members of the several tenure classes. Now we take up the question of the tenure-class origin of the mates of our informants and of their married offspring. Information was obtained regarding the tenure class occupied by the father of the farmer and by his father-in-law, if the latter were also a farmer, at the time the marriage took place. Present tenure class of the informant's family or of his or his wife's parents' families has nothing to do with this analysis. The objective is this: to discover the relationship between the tenure class of the groom's father and that of his farmer father-in-law. Is it more likely to be the same, higher, or lower than that of his own father? Accordingly, we are concerned with the respective tenure classes involved at the time marriage took place.

In the following comparisons, the tenure class of landlords is to be considered separately from that of owners and part-owners. It was thought desirable to make this exception because, with respect to marriage, at least in the case of Southern white landlords, this tenure class seemed to stand apart from the other classes of owners.

Beginning with Northern farmers whose fathers at the time of their marriage were landlords we find their farmer fathers-in-law at the same time to have been landlords in one-third of all cases. In a larger proportion of the cases, however, these fathers-in-law were owners other than landlords, making a total of three-fourths of all landlords' sons who report their fathers-in-law also to have been farm landowners. Among Northern farmers whose fathers were owners and part-owners even a larger proportion report fathers-in-law who were landowners, practically 83 percent being in this tenure class, a few more being landlords, making a total of 88 percent who were also landowners. Among Northern farmers whose fathers at the time of marriage were tenants we find practically the same proportions of landowners as non-owner fathers-in-law, with a slight preponderance of the former (Table 82).

Among Southern white farmers nearly three-fourths of those whose fathers were landlords married daughters of landlords. They marry relatively only one-tenth as many full or part owners' daughters as daughters of landlords. In other words, the tendency seems to be for landlords to

Table 82.- Percentages of married male informants, married sons, and married daughters whose fathers-in-law at time of marriage were farmers occupying specified tenure status

Tenure status of father	Totals	Landlord	Full or part owners	Renters	Croppers	Farm laborer
Northern -						
Landlord:						
Male informants	12	33	42	25 1/		-
Sons	13	-	69	31		-
Daughters	18	11	56	33		-
Full or part owner:						
Male informants	266	5	83	10		2
Sons	77	4	69	25		2
Daughters	94	3	67	27		3
Tenant:						
Male informants	92	8	46	45		2
Sons	37	3	46	51		-
Daughters	40	-	57	40		2
Farm laborers:						
Male informants	4	-	-	-		-
Sons	3	-	-	-		-
Daughters	11	9	36	45		9
Southern white -						
Landlord:						
Male informants	67	72	7	16	4	-
Sons	49	18	51	10	18	2
Daughters	48	17	60	8	15	-
Full or part owner:						
Male informants	285	3	66	21	10	-
Sons	108	7	52	32	8	-
Daughters	94	12	60	17	10	2
Renters:						
Male informants	133	9	37	49	5	-
Sons	66	11	33	38	17	1
Daughters	97	12	30	43	13	1
Croppers:						
Male informants	77	5	31	16	48	-
Sons	25	-	28	32	40	-
Daughters	37	3	27	27	43	-
Farm laborers:						
Male informants	3	-	-	-	-	-
Sons	1	-	-	-	-	-
Daughters	4	-	-	-	-	-
Negro -						
Landlord:						
Male informants	1	-	-	-	-	-
Sons	10	-	10	40	50	-
Daughters	7	-	-	-	-	-
Full or part owner:						
Male informants	103	2	31	45	19	3
Sons	31	-	39	29	32	-
Daughters	35	-	17	51	31	-
Renters:						
Male informants	235	-	14	59	26	1
Sons	69	-	9	33	56	1
Daughters	90	-	17	42	41	-
Croppers:						
Male informants	183	-	9	30	61	-
Sons	64	-	9	22	69	-
Daughters	64	-	11	31	58	-
Farm laborers:						
Male informants	5	-	-	-	-	-
Sons	2	-	-	-	-	-
Daughters	7	-	-	-	-	-

1/ Figures for Northern croppers included with those for renters.

be sharply differentiated even from other owners. Southern white informants whose fathers were owners or part-owners showed a similar preference for daughters of men in the same tenure classes; two-thirds married women whose fathers were also owners or part-owners. Only a very small proportion (under 3 per cent) married into the landlord class. About one-third married into lower tenure classes, the majority of these marrying renters' daughters. Practically one-half of Southern white informants who at the time of their marriage were renters' sons married daughters of renters. Somewhat over one-third of them married up into the full and part-owner classes, and about one-tenth married into the landlord class. Only one-twentieth married lower down into the class of croppers. Taking up informants whose fathers were croppers at the time of marriage we find again that practically one-half married into families of the same tenure class, and the other married into families belonging to higher tenure classes. The majority of the latter group married daughters of owners other than landlords. There are too few informants whose fathers at the time of their marriage were laborers for them to be included in this comparison (Table 82).

About one-third of Negro informants whose fathers at the time of their marriage were owners or part-owners married into families of the same tenure class; somewhat less than half married daughters of renters; and about one-fifth married daughters of croppers. It is to be borne in mind that Negro landowners are comparatively fewer than landowners in either of the other two sample populations. Nearly 60 percent of Negro farmers whose fathers were renters married daughters of renters, while 26 percent married into the lower tenure class of croppers. Finally, 60 percent of Negro farmers whose fathers were croppers at the time of their marriage married into the same tenure class, 30 percent married into renters' families, and 9 percent married into owners' families (Table 82).

From this brief survey involving 10 tenure class comparisons, we find 7 instances in which the largest proportion of farmers' mates are found in families belonging to the same tenure class. The 3 exceptions are as follows: first, Northern sons of landlords, who marry daughters of landlords slightly less often than daughters of full and part-owners; second, Northern sons of renters, among whom the proportion marrying in the same tenure class is not far below one-half, but slightly lower than the proportion marrying daughters of owners; and third, Negro sons of owners, who marry daughters of renters almost half again as often as they marry daughters of landowners. Thus, the tendency to marry into families of one's own tenure class is found most consistently among Southern white farmers, and seems least pronounced among Northern farmers. But the tendency is present, and to a significant degree, in each sample population.

Let us now consider the question with respect to married sons and daughters of our informants. We find, first, that two-thirds of Northern

informants' sons whose fathers (informants) at the time of their marriage were landlords married the daughters not of landlords, but of landowners other than landlords. The number of cases of marriage involved in this comparison is small, but one wonders what has happened to the landlords' daughters, since none appear among the wives of landlords' sons. Next we find the same proportion (two-thirds) of full owners' and part-owners' sons marrying daughters of full owners and part-owners. About one-fourth of the sons in these tenure classes married daughters of renters. Among sons of renters, as contrasted with renters of the older generation, the majority married into families of the same tenure class (Table 82).

Among Southern white landlords' sons we find that one-half married daughters of full and part-owners. Only one-fifth married daughters of landlords. A similar proportion married daughters of croppers, and one-tenth married daughters of renters. This represents a considerable deviation from the situation as shown by marriages of landlords' sons in the older generation, among whom nearly three-fourths married into landlords' families. Over one-half of Southern white owners' and part-owners' sons married daughters of families in the same tenure class, while one-third married daughters of renters. Less than 10 percent married landlords' daughters, and less than 10 percent married croppers' daughters. Among sons of renters, a majority married daughters of renters, but the proportion marrying daughters of owners were almost as large. A majority of croppers' sons married croppers' daughters, a smaller proportion married renters' daughters, and still fewer married owners' daughters (Table 82).

Five of the ten sons of Negro landlords married daughters of croppers and four married daughters of renters; only one married the daughter of an owner, who, in this case, was not a landlord at that. With sons of full and part-owners, however, the general tendency reappears, for the majority married daughters of the same tenure categories. About 30 percent each married daughters of renters and of croppers. Among renters' sons, however, over one-half married the daughters of croppers, one-third married the daughters of renters, and less than 10 percent married the daughters of owners. Finally, over two-thirds of Negro croppers' sons married daughters of croppers (Table 82).

Taking up now the married daughters of our informants we find that the majority of Northern landlords' daughters married sons of full and part-owners. One-third married sons of renters, and the remainder married sons of landlords. Daughters of full and part-owners in two-thirds of the cases married sons of families belonging to the same tenure class, while one-fourth married sons of renters. Daughters of renters, although they married sons of renters more often than did daughters of owners or landlords, nevertheless in a majority of cases married sons of owners. Of the few daughters of laborers for whom we have information, nearly one-half married sons of renters, while one-third married sons of owners (Table 82).

Daughters of white landlords in the South in a majority of cases married the sons of full and part-owners. If we combine with this group those marrying sons of landlords, we may say that they married sons of landowners of one class or another in three-fourths of all cases. Daughters of full and part-owners most frequently (60 percent) married sons of families in the same tenure class. If we again include the category of those marrying landlords, we may say that over 70 percent married sons of landowners. Daughters of renters in but 30 percent of the cases married sons of full or part-owners, while 43 percent of them married sons of renters. Daughters of croppers most frequently (43 percent) married sons of croppers, but married about one-fourth each into full or part-owners' and renters' families (Table 82).

As in the case of sons of Negro landlords, so among their daughters the majority married into croppers' families, but again we have too few cases to warrant safe generalization. Daughters of owners other than landlords, similarly, married into lower tenure class families in the majority of cases, about one-half marrying sons of renters, and one-third sons of croppers. Daughters of Negro renters married sons of renters and of croppers with almost equal frequencies, the proportion being about 40 percent in either case. Daughters of Negro croppers alone most frequently married sons from families belonging to the same tenure class, the proportion being about 60 percent, while nearly one-third married sons of renters (Table 82).

Summarizing with respect to the influence of tenure class on the selection of mates, we may say that regardless of generation, of sample population, or of tenure class, marriages tend to take place most often between the offspring of families belonging to the same tenure class. Disregarding the distinction we have made between landlords and other types of owners, we may say that in the case of Southern whites there are no exceptions to the generalization just made. Among Northern farmers, on the other hand, members of the lowest tenure classes, especially daughters, are marrying up the tenure ladder, and among Negroes of the upper tenure classes they are marrying into those below them. The hypothesis that tenure classes are more significant among Southern white farmers than among Negro farmers in the South or among white farmers in the North thus receives further confirmation. Certainly the various tenure classes do not have the same meaning in all three sample populations. Admittedly the frequencies involved in some of the tenure comparisons are smaller than would be desired, but substantial numbers are involved in a sufficient number of comparisons to give strong support to this interpretation.

We have seen that the average age of farmers composing the various tenure classes differs rather widely within each sample population and that the sample populations in addition differ in this respect. What do these differences in average age mean with respect to the families of the same farmers? First to be considered is the length of time in years

that these families have existed as units. Among white owners' families, both North and South, the largest proportion in any category (35 percent for Northern owners and 28 percent for Southern white owners) have lasted between 20 and 29 years, while among Negro owners' families the largest proportion (25 percent) have lasted between 10 and 19 years. In each sample population there are more renters' families than owners' in the categories of shorter marriage duration and fewer renters' families than owners' in the categories of longer duration. The same tendency is found among croppers' families to an accentuated degree, while the extreme of this tendency is found among laborers. Over 50 percent of laborers' families in each sample population have lasted less than 10 years (Table 83).

Taking up size of resident family, we again find significant tenure differences. The size of resident family for this purpose is regarded as consisting only of living parents and unmarried children now sharing the same home. All offspring who have left home are excluded, as are all deceased offspring. In each sample population, owners' families consist more frequently of 2 persons than of any other number. Furthermore, there are more white farmers' families of this size in the owner class than in any other tenure class, while among Negroes the greatest concentration of 2-person families is to be found in the farm laborer class. Renters' families, especially those of white farmers, show a much wider dispersion as to size than do owners' families. More families of white renters consist of 4, 5, 6, or 7 members than appear in any other tenure class. Among Negro families, however, more of these large families are to be found among croppers than among renters. In the South, white croppers' families are more frequently of 4 members than of any other size, while the number is 2 with respect to Negro croppers' families. White laborers' families far more often consist of 3 members than any other number, and of 2 members, as was indicated, among Negro laborers. In brief, size of resident family tends to be smallest at the top and the bottom of the agricultural ladder and largest in the intermediate tenure classes (Table 84).

A comparison of tenure classes with respect to the proportions of families of various types throws some further light on the relationship between tenure class and the family cycle. 24/ The larger proportions

24/ As in chapter II, the terms used in defining the categories of families are as follows: "simple," consisting of not more than two generations of kinsfolk, i.e., parents and children; "complex," including relatives other than parents and children, often involving three generations; "incomplete," wife under 45 years of age; "complete," wife, living and present, but 45 years of age or over; "intact," husband and wife both living and present; "brother-sister" family, consisting simply of unmarried brothers, sisters, or brothers and sisters; the remaining terms, "husband absent," "wife absent," and "one-person," are self-explanatory.

Table 83.- Percentages of farmers' families classified by duration of present marriage union 1/

Item	: Owners	: Renters	: Croppers	: Laborers
Northern:				
Total number	286	242 <u>2/</u>		56
Percent married:				
Less than 10 years	5	26		52
10 - 19 years	18	31		21
20 - 29 years	35	24		13
30 - 39 years	23	17		9
40 - 49 years	15	1		5
50 - 59 years	4	-		-
60 - 69 years	-	-		-
Southern white:				
Total number	319	255	154	50
Percent married:				
Less than 10 years	10	26	44	52
10 - 19 years	23	27	25	16
20 - 29 years	28	29	20	29
30 - 39 years	23	13	9	4
40 - 49 years	13	4	2	-
50 - 59 years	3	1	-	-
60 - 69 years	-	-	-	-
Negro:				
Total number	98	218	320	64
Percent married:				
Less than 10 years	13	25	43	59
10 - 19 years	25	29	24	17
20 - 29 years	24	25	18	6
30 - 39 years	20	13	10	9
40 - 49 years	15	6	4	5
50 - 59 years	3	2	1	3
60 - 69 years	-	-	-	-

1/ Intact unbroken families only are included in this table.

2/ Figures for Northern croppers included with those for renters.

Table 84.- Percentages of farmers' families classified by number of members 1/

Number of persons	:	:	:	:
	: Owners	: Renters	: Croppers	: Laborers
Northern:				
One	7		2 <u>2/</u>	12
Two	37		25	23
Three	23		27	36
Four	17		20	15
Five	9		10	7
Six	3		9	4
Seven	1		5	3
Eight	2		1	-
Nine	-		-	-
Ten and over	1		1	-
Totals	355		263	69
Southern white:				
One	5	1	3	4
Two	29	12	17	9
Three	22	22	22	36
Four	15	21	23	28
Five	11	13	10	9
Six	8	11	10	4
Seven	5	8	7	4
Eight	3	5	2	2
Nine	1	3	2	2
Ten and over	1	4	4	2
Totals	398	275	168	53
Negro:				
One	9	6	4	16
Two	26	26	27	36
Three	17	19	19	18
Four	12	15	17	9
Five	12	7	10	5
Six	8	8	8	4
Seven	5	4	5	7
Eight	5	7	5	1
Nine	2	4	2	2
Ten and over	4	4	3	2
Totals	128	253	372	89

1/ Among offspring living, unmarried resident persons only are included in number of members.

2/ Figures for Northern croppers included with those for renters.

of simple, intact, completed families found among landlords, full owners, and part-owners in the North are paralleled in the South by similar proportions only among white landlords' and full owners', and among Negro full owners' families. Part-owners' families in the South are much more frequently incomplete than complete, and landlords' families among Negroes contain a strikingly large proportion of cases in which the husband is absent. Renters' and laborers' families in the North, on the other hand, are much more frequently simple, intact, and incomplete than of any other type, and report a larger proportion of families of this type than do members of any other Northern tenure classes. In the South, the largest proportion of families in every tenure class, with the exception of the two owning classes mentioned (landlords and full owners) are of this same type. Northern part-owners' families, it will be noted, are distributed much more like those of full owners and landlords, but in the South, on the contrary, both among white and Negro part-owners' families, the similarity is to the lower tenure classes.

The relative frequency of 1-person families is greatest among colored and Northern farm laborers, and among landlords in each of the sample populations. Southern white farm laborers' families (being most frequently simple, intact, and incomplete) contain a much smaller proportion of 1-person units than do either of the other sample populations. Brother-and-sister families constitute one out of twenty among white landlords, whereas they are very infrequent among Negro landlords. The extent to which the widow is found among Negro landlords' families is surprising, there being more of these "husband absent" families than of any other type (Table 85).

Closely related to type of family, obviously, is the number of living children. In this comparison are included all living offspring, married or unmarried and regardless of present residence. Far fewer families reporting no children are found among laborers than in any other tenure class both in the North and among Negroes. This is not true of white laborers in the South, however, for in this sample population both more owners and more croppers than laborers report no children. No living offspring are reported by practically one-fifth of white owners, both Northern and Southern, and by one-fourth of Negro owners, in spite of the fact, as was indicated above, that these families tend to be complete more often than incomplete. The frequencies for number of children decline sharply among Northern owners' and renters' families when the total exceeds 2, but in the South the decline is more gradual. Marked differences appear in the South, however, in each tenure class between the proportions of white and Negro families who report having no children. With the exception of laborers' families, which show a concentration in the 1-child category, the distributions for Southern white tenure classes are much the same. Among Negro families belonging to the various tenure classes there is also great similarity in the distribution of numbers of children, the only notable deviation being found, as has been indicated, in the case of laborers reporting no children (Table 86).

Table 85.- Percentages of farmers' families, classified by type of family

		Type of family						
Sample popula- tion and tenure status	Number of families	Simple 1/ intact 2/ incomplete 3/	Simple 1/ intact 2/ complete	Husband absent	Wife absent	Complex 4/	Brother: and sister	One member
Northern:								
Landlords	110	15	44	7	5	9	6	12
Full owners	149	25	56	5	1	7	1	3
Part owners	96	34	47	2	-	16	1	-
Tenants	263	56	29	3	-	9	1	2
Farm laborers	69	55	22	1	4	6	-	12
Southern white:								
Landlords	195	27	47	8	4	5	5	5
Full owners	162	35	46	9	3	3	1	2
Part owners	41	61	27	5	-	2	2	2
Renters	275	65	25	2	2	3	1	1
Croppers	168	73	20	4	2	-	-	1
Farm laborers	53	74	19	4	-	2	-	2
Negro:								
Landlords	32	16	25	28	9	12	-	9
Full owners	77	39	42	9	3	5	3	-
Part owners	19	63	31	-	-	-	-	5
Renters	253	56	28	4	4	5	-	3
Croppers	372	64	18	6	3	6	1	2
Farm laborers	89	52	16	7	8	6	-	12

1/

2/

3/

4/

Not more than two generations, i.e., parents and children.

Husband and wife both living and present.

Wife under 45 years of age.

Includes relatives other than parents and children, often involving three generations.

Table 86.- Percentages of farmers' families, classified by number of living offspring of present union

Sample popula- tion and tenure: status	:	Percent reporting specified number of living offspring of present union	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
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Probably the outstanding inference to be drawn from this comparison is with respect to contributions being made to the next generation by the various tenure classes. Since owners' families are reported to be complete more often than those in other tenure classes, the frequency with which they are childless, especially among Southern whites, is worthy of emphasis.

This situation need give no cause for alarm as some would maintain. On the contrary, it would seem necessary for vacancies to be created at the top of the agricultural ladder if the process of climbing the ladder is to continue. In other words, if owners' families contribute to the next generation in the same numbers as do the lower tenure classes it seems probable that the processes of class differentiation and stratification, that is, of increased rigidity and impenetrability of class lines, would inevitably follow. Such a consequence, entirely at variance with traditional American social philosophy, is hardly to be welcomed.

One final topic remains to be considered: the relation between education and tenure class. Let us first take up the material dealing with the education of our informants. There appear to be no great differences with respect to the educational attainments of Northern and Southern white farmers on the whole, but emphatic differences are found between those of white and Negro farmers. It seems clear, furthermore, that among Northern farmers tenure class has practically nothing to do with the amount of education received, that is, the median number of grades of schooling completed by members of no tenure class falls significantly below the median for Northern farmers as a whole. Among Southern farmers, on the other hand, both white and Negro, the owning tenure classes and the related non-owning tenure classes report having received more education than the unrelated non-owning tenure classes. This difference is most consistent among Negroes, but among Southern whites also the inconsistencies are apparently unimportant.

The most pronounced deviation of any tenure-class figure from the Southern white median appears in the case of unrelated laborers whose education falls far below the sample population. Related Negro non-owners deviate most widely, but in the opposite direction, from the median figure for Negro farmers' education. Tenure class, in other words, seems to have little relationship to education in the North, but has consistent and significant relationships in the South, both among white and Negro farmers (Table 87).

Having briefly examined the data with regard to education of informants, let us take up the same question with respect to our informants' children who are no longer attending school. Much the same situation exists in the younger generation as was present in the case of adult farmers. The most conspicuous difference appears between Negro and white children with respect to number of years of schooling completed. Tenure differences of notable degrees again are found in the South,

while tenure differences among Northern farmers' children seem to be more significant than was true in the case of adult farmers.

Table 87.- Median grades of schooling completed

Tenure status	Northern		Southern white		Negro	
	Number	Median	Number	Median	Number	Median
	: of cases	: grades	: of cases	: grades	: of cases	: grades
Landlords	110	8.2	195	8.0	32	5.6
Full owners	149	8.3	162	8.0	77	4.7
Part-owners	96	8.3	41	8.3	19	4.2
Related renters	67	8.9	62	8.2	18	4.8
Unrelated renters	180	8.1	213	7.0	235	4.0
Related croppers	10	10.0	37	7.8	18	6.4
Unrelated croppers	6	9.2	131	6.6	354	3.7
Related laborers	9	8.2	6	7.0	2	8.0
Unrelated laborers	60	8.1	47	5.8	87	4.1
Totals	687	8.3	894	7.5	842	4.0

The median grade of schooling reported by Northern children of no tenure class is below the eighth, but the children of farm laborers and of unrelated croppers, especially sons, have not gone far beyond that point. The children of landlords, part-owners, owners, and related croppers, on the other hand, report median years of schooling between 11 and 12 years. The children of renters report educational attainments intermediate between those reported by children of owners and of laborers.

Among Southern whites children of unrelated croppers report the lowest educational achievements. Those of unrelated renters come next, followed by those of related croppers and unrelated laborers; children of full owners are next, then of part-owners and of related renters. Landlords' children report the highest education. The very few children of related laborers report educational attainments not inferior to those of owners' children, and higher in fact than those of part-owners' children.

The education reported by children of Negro part-owners and landlords is far higher than that reported by children of any of the other tenure classes among Negroes. Children of full owners, renters, croppers, and laborers have had similar degrees of education, in each case less than that of the two classes mentioned. Although the children of unrelated croppers report the lowest median number of grades completed, it would appear that the differences by sex are frequently larger and possibly more significant than tenure-class differences apart from those first pointed out, daughters apparently getting relatively much more schooling than sons in the same tenure classes (Table 88).

Table 88.- Median grades of schooling completed by offspring of present union not now attending school, classified by sex

Tenure status of parent	Male		Female	
	Total number	Median grades: completed	Total number	Median grades completed
Northern:				
Landlords	96	11.4	85	12.4
Full owners	88	11.3	63	11.1
Part-owners	115	11.2	127	11.3
Related renters	17	10.5	15	9.3
Unrelated renters	96	9.0	111	11.2
Related croppers	2	12.0	2	12.0
Unrelated croppers	1	8.0	3	8.5
Related laborers	3	8.0	2	9.0
Unrelated laborers	21	8.4	24	9.5
Southern white:				
Landlords	210	10.1	175	11.5
Full owners	34	9.4	29	10.5
Part-owners	186	9.8	158	11.4
Related renters	20	10.0	23	10.6
Unrelated renters	193	8.5	180	8.7
Related croppers	8	9.0	6	9.0
Unrelated croppers	70	7.2	80	7.9
Related laborers	4	11.0	5	10.0
Unrelated laborers	22	9.0	18	9.0
Negro:				
Landlords	46	6.5	42	8.0
Full owners	11	4.5	5	4.0
Part-owners	71	6.9	57	7.0
Related renters	-	-	4	4.3
Unrelated renters	159	4.4	141	5.5
Related croppers	1	4.0	1	6.0
Unrelated croppers	214	3.5	209	4.7
Related laborers	-	-	-	-
Unrelated laborers	25	5.0	34	4.7

Summarizing this comparison, we may say that the educational achievements of Northern children no longer attending school reveal tenure differences of a more pronounced nature than those that were present among their parents. This differentiation is due more largely to the greater amount of education being received by the children of upper-class families than to a lack of education, that is, a serious handicapping of the children of any of the lower tenure classes. The previously indicated

tenure differences with respect to educational achievements among adults in the South are still present among their children, with the advantages of Negro landlords' and full owners' children over Negro part-owners' and non-owners' children being especially pronounced. A similar but more evenly graduated differentiation appears among the tenure classes of Southern whites. In each of the three sample populations the children of unrelated croppers are in the most disadvantageous position with respect to education. Here is evidence of a perpetuation of tenure class differences in the South, and of their intensification both in the North and in the South. This difference, however, remains; the median amount of schooling reported by the lowest-ranking tenure class of Northern children is higher than the median for the highest-ranking tenure class among the Negro children.

In other words, the sons of croppers and laborers in the North are getting more schooling than the sons of colored landlords in the South. It would seem that tenure differences within the sample populations, although they exist and doubtless are of some importance, are relatively inconsequential in comparison with race differences.

Another approach to the question of the relationship between tenure class and education involves a determination of the proportions of children of school age living at home who are still attending school, that is, of those who have not yet broken off their educational careers. In the groups 5 to 10 and 11 to 15 years of age, practically without regard to tenure class, the large majority of children are reported as attending school. 25/

As in the previous comparison, girls tend to persist in the educational system more frequently than do boys - in about two thirds of all tenure-class comparisons the proportion of girls of specified ages who come from families of certain tenure classes is larger than that among comparable boys. Another consistent difference that appears between age classes in each sample population is the smaller proportion of young people 16 to 20 years of age, regardless of tenure class, who are now attending school, as compared with the younger age group. This is doubtless due to the fact that the minimum educational requirements usually will have been satisfied while the young people are still in this age category (Table 89).

The children of all tenure classes, apparently, are being exposed to the influence of the educational system with more or less comparable frequency. Among Northern and Negro farmers' families there seems to be a declining proportion of attendants as we descend the agri-

25/ It is to be understood that answers to the question of "attending school" are not influenced by the fact of school being in session or not at time of inquiry. A child is reported as attending school if he is still in attendance whenever it is in session, regardless of how long the term may last.

Table 89.- Percentages of offspring living at home who are reported as attending school, classified by age and sex

Age group and tenure status	Males		Females	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
Northern -				
5 - 10 years of age:				
Owners	36	86	39	87
Renters	67	79	56	86
Croppers	-	-	-	-
Laborers	16	69	5	60
11 - 15 years of age:				
Owners	52	94	44	89
Renters	51	98	39	97
Croppers	-	-	-	-
Laborers	4	75	10	90
16 - 20 years of age:				
Owners	65	31	52	36
Renters	33	33	29	48
Croppers	-	-	-	-
Laborers	5	100	5	60
Southern white -				
5 - 10 years of age:				
Owners	44	82	46	72
Renters	109	82	86	77
Croppers	38	95	43	98
Laborers	13	85	12	100
11 - 15 years of age:				
Owners	52	94	60	92
Renters	93	97	87	84
Croppers	42	95	52	96
Laborers	10	90	9	88
16 - 20 years of age:				
Owners	52	54	36	55
Renters	79	40	60	60
Croppers	29	41	23	39
Laborers	12	25	6	50
Negro:				
5 - 10 years of age:				
Owners	30	90	33	91
Renters	83	75	76	84
Croppers	88	70	92	73
Laborers	18	83	22	50
11 - 15 years of age:				
Owners	32	94	33	94
Renters	56	91	58	93
Croppers	88	87	65	85
Laborers	8	87	17	94
16 - 20 years of age:				
Owners	33	45	22	64
Renters	48	37	40	45
Croppers	64	31	64	41
Laborers	11	36	9	67

cultural ladder, particularly in the lowest age category. But an apparently opposite trend appears in the same age category among Southern whites, which raises doubt regarding the significance of tenure differences in this comparison.

Obviously this finding tells nothing about the nature of the instruction, the ampleness or deficiency of equipment, the training of teachers, the length of the school year, and so on. It does suggest, however, that the existing educational framework may provide an adequate basis upon which to build an educational structure serving more equitably the members of all tenure classes, the possible result being a diminution of the marked tenure differences in total years of schooling ultimately acquired.

How do farmers in various tenure classes differ in their attitudes toward the amount of schooling they themselves received? Significant and consistent tenure differences appear among white farmers, both North and South. In each case fewer owners, slightly more renters, still more croppers, and most of all laborers, say they wish they had had more schooling. Among Negro farmers, moreover, regardless of tenure class, no less than 90 percent of all informants regard their education as inadequate. In fact, in all tenure classes but owners this proportion is above 95 percent, actually reaching 99 percent among renters. This is practically the proportion of white laborers in the South giving the same response, namely 98 percent. Northern owners more frequently than any other tenure class deny any desire for more schooling (22 percent). It would seem, in other words, that the small differences between Northern tenure classes with respect to education received are more largely the result of the upper classes' indifference to education beyond the eighth grade than to their inability to get all they want. In the South, tendencies similar to those found in the North, although not to so marked a degree, appear among both white and Negro farmers (Table 90).

How do the tenure classes vary with respect to the amount of schooling their members say they would like sons to have? In the North, the proportion specifying a high-school education increases, and the proportion specifying a college education decreases, as we go up the tenure ladder. In other words, laborers are thinking most frequently of high school as the limit and least often of college, while the proportion specifying high school is smallest, and specifying college is largest, among owners.

Among Southern whites there is the same consistent trend through laborers, croppers, renters, and owners, each step up the tenure scale bringing a decrease in the proportion specifying high school and an increase in the proportion specifying college as the desired limit. In fact, the proportion of owners indicating college training as desirable is almost twice as large as that among laborers (38 percent and 21 percent, respectively).

Table 90.-- Percentages of farmers who say they wish or do not wish they had had more schooling

Sample population : and response :	Total number of cases :	Percentages reporting		
		Yes :	Uncertain :	No
Northern:				
Owners	355	66	12	22
Tenants	263	70	12	18
Laborers	69	93	4	3
Southern white:				
Owners	398	80	11	9
Renters	275	86	5	9
Croppers	168	95	5	-
Laborers	53	98	-	2
Negro:				
Owners	128	92	3	5
Renters	253	99	1	-
Croppers	372	97	1	2
Laborers	89	96	2	2

Table 91.-- Percentages of farmers who think a son should have specified amounts of education

Sample population : and education desired :	Owners :	Renters :	Croppers :	Laborers
Northern:				
College	37	35 1/2		30
High school	44	49		55
Grade school	4	4		4
Other	7	7		4
Uncertain	8	5		7
Total number of cases	355	263		69
Southern white:				
College	38	31	27	21
High school	44	50	58	66
Grade school	3	2	5	5
Other	12	14	5	4
Uncertain	3	3	5	2
Total number of cases	398	275	168	53
Negro:				
College	31	29	27	19
High school	26	25	25	27
Grade school	5	4	4	9
Other	31	36	34	37
Uncertain	7	6	10	8
Total number of cases	128	253	372	89

1/ Figures for Northern croppers included with those of renters.

Among Negro farmers, as we go up the tenure scale, there is a similar though relatively smaller increase in percentages specifying college as desirable. Furthermore, the proportions specifying high school are practically the same, that is, between 25 and 27 percent in each tenure class. A large proportion of Negro informants, regardless of tenure class, gave answers which could not be classified in terms of the conventional educational categories but were classified as "all other responses," examples of which are as follows: "enough to take care of his business"; "enough to be able to read and write"; "all he can get." From these examples it should be clear that the size of the category of "all other" responses in this sample population is indicative not of lack of interest in schooling, or a desire for it, on the part of the Negro farmers, but rather because they are pathetically unaware of the opportunities offered by the public educational system (Table 91).

Chapter V

LANDLORD-TENANT RELATIONSHIPS: WHAT DO THEY INVOLVE?

The Basic Problem

The problem to be attacked in this chapter is to reduce a social relationship to such terms that we may express it quantitatively. The living reality of human interaction - changeable, subtle, and elusive - is not easily translated into cold and lifeless quantity. Nevertheless, this is what must be done if the relationships existing between landlords and tenants or croppers in one situation are to be compared with similar sets of relationships in entirely different areas or at other periods of time.

Furthermore, we are curious about the differences appearing in the relationships existing between landlords and tenants on the one hand and, on the other, employers of farm laborers and farm laborers. To what extent is there a difference, for example, between farm laborer, cropper, and renter insofar as supervision by landlord or employer is concerned?

Having admitted that it is not easy to reach our objective, let us indicate briefly some of the difficulties involved. First, probably the most serious difficulty grows out of the fact that social relationships themselves are intangible. You can see two people walking down the street, know a good deal about both of them as individuals, but know very little about the relationships between them. You may know parents and children well from meeting them separately at different times, but the maze of relationships that exists between them is a totally different matter. Similarly, the tenant working in his field, caring for his livestock, repairing his fences, visiting with his relatives, or playing with his baby, is one man; but when his landlord is present, he may appear to be a very different man. The extent to which the tenant farmer's behavior is influenced by his landlord, whether the landlord be present or not, is decidedly a part of the general problem under consideration. But it is hardly possible to rig up a machine that, by indicating clearly in just what ways and to what degrees the tenant's behavior would differ if there were no landlord, would show the influence actually exerted by the landlord. Therefore, although we are attempting to measure a social relationship, we are forced to resort to words in dealing with the situation.

Second, quite apart from the difficulty of seeing a social relationship for oneself is the difficulty of getting someone else to understand clearly what one is driving at. Words have such hazy outlines. Not all words suffer from a lack of definite meaning, for scientists try always to define terms with such sharpness and precision that they will mean the same thing to all scientists, regardless of when or where they

are used. In asking our questions it was necessary as far as possible to use words that are commonly found in most rural areas and use them with approximately the same meanings.

Third, granting that we can see clearly those aspects of the relationships between landlord and tenant that we want to study, and granting that we are able to put this in simple, clear, and comprehensible terms, a final difficulty appears that is not less important than those we have already discussed: farmers are human beings after all. Suppose you talk to a tenant about these matters in which we are interested. Finally, you come to the present problem. You ask him what his landlord has to say about his farming operations. Suppose the landlord in question is definitely the "boss," at least with regard to the running of the farm. If the tenant has difficulty in admitting to himself his true subordinate position, he will certainly have more difficulty in admitting this subordination to you, a total stranger. Before your interview is over the landlord may have come upon the place, may have approached his tenant and you, and by his general bearing and spoken behavior may have demonstrated very clearly that he is "running the farm" and, incidentally, "running the farmer" as well. In spite of such conclusive evidence, you may have heard from this tenant just a few minutes earlier that the landlord in question lets him run the place just about as he pleases. In other words, if a tenant's self-esteem suffers by the admission that he is not an independent farm operator, it is rather difficult to get an accurate picture of the relationship between him and his landlord by means of his testimony alone.

For this reason, landlords as well as tenants were interviewed on those questions involving landlord-tenant relationships. Not that we assume tenants to be less truthful than landlords. The most unconscious forms of bias are those that must be sought out most diligently. The farm laborer, naturally, is not unwilling to admit that he takes orders from someone else, for his status is well defined.

Landlord-Tenant Interactions

Taking up now our information with regard to the frequency and nature of interaction between landlord and tenant, we may consider first the responses from Northern farmers. Most landlords report that they visit the farms to talk over farming operations with their tenants only once a month or several times a year. Renters in the North also make such a report. The proportions who visit the farms daily, several times a week, or weekly, are comparatively insignificant. But this is not the case when we consider the frequency with which landlords employing farm laborers visit the farms to talk with their employees. Seventy percent of the members of this tenure class are visited daily.

Among Southern white farmers, also, a large majority of farm laborers report that they are visited daily by their landlord-employers,

while comparatively few are visited less frequently. The proportion of Southern white tenants, both renters and croppers, who report being visited by their landlords is small, regardless of the frequency of visits considered, because the large majority report their landlords to leave decisions entirely up to them.

This is much less true of croppers than renters, however, for altogether over one-third of Southern white croppers report being visited by their landlords daily, several times a week, or once a week. It will be noted that the frequency of visits to the farm reported by white landlords is much greater than that reported by white non-owners, with the exception of laborers, doubtless because many of these white landlords were referring to their visits to colored tenants or laborers.

Considering the responses of colored farmers, we find that renters again rarely report landlords as visiting them, regardless of the frequency of visits. Among croppers, however, a majority (about 83 percent) report being visited daily, several times a week, or weekly. Only 13 percent report that they are visited as rarely as monthly or several times a year. Practically 90 percent of colored laborers are visited by their landlords or employers daily, several times a week, or weekly, 60 percent being visited daily, which was true also of Southern white laborers.

In general we may say that farm laborers clearly have the greatest frequency of contact with their landlords or employers. Croppers in each sample population have considerably less frequent contact, but Negro croppers report frequencies much higher than do white croppers either in the North or in the South. Renters in all three sample populations report comparatively little such contact, Southern white renters reporting the least, Negro renters somewhat more, and Northern farmers the most. The frequency in each sample population is greatest in the category, "monthly or several times a year" (Table 92).

What is the nature of the interaction when landlords and non-owners in the various tenure categories come together? We have attempted to determine the degree of supervision exercised by the landlord in these conversations by classifying the responses into four categories which range from complete freedom on the part of the non-owner to strict supervision over the tenant by the landlord. The first category includes those informants who say that the landlord leaves decisions entirely up to the non-owner; the second, those who say that the landlord simply discusses problems with the non-owner; the third, those who say that the landlord usually suggests what the non-owner should do, but that he does not command; and the fourth, those who say that the landlord gives strict orders - tells them what to do and how to do it. Because of their small number, responses from Negro farmers in the landlord group must be interpreted only tentatively. The figures we have, however, show that Negro landlords leave decisions to non-owners with the same frequency

Table 92.- Percentages of farmers reporting that landlord/employer comes to farm to discuss farming operations with tenant/employee specified frequencies

Sample population : and tenure of respondent	Total : cases : reporting <u>1/</u> :	Frequency of visits - percentages		
		Daily	Weekly <u>2/</u>	Monthly <u>3/</u>
Northern:				
Landlord/ employer	82	16	22	60
Renters	121	6	13	92
Croppers	12	17	25	33
Laborers	67	70	22	1
Southern white:				
Landlord/ employer	109	59	27	8
Renters	36	17	22	50
Croppers	69	36	42	20
Laborers	49	65	12	2
Negro:				
Landlord/ employer	17	12	53	29
Renters	61	18	34	43
Croppers	253	45	38	13
Laborers	85	61	33	-

1/ This question was applicable to only a part of the farmers interviewed. See Schedule, Part IVa, questions 30 and 31.

2/ "Weekly" includes visits weekly or more often but not daily.

3/ "Monthly" includes visits monthly or several times a year.

as that reported by Southern white landlords, but less than one-sixth as many colored as white landlords say they give strict orders. Negro laborers more often than any other tenure class, either Northern or Southern, say they are given strict orders (practically 75 percent). (See Table 93).

What difference does kinship make in the interaction between landlord and tenant? It means in the North that the related tenant receives the benefit of discussion with the landlord more often than does the unrelated tenant, and conversely, that the unrelated tenant more often has left entirely up to him the making of decisions regarding farming operations.

In the South, on the contrary, these tendencies are reversed: the related tenant has decisions left entirely to him with considerably more

Table 93.- Percentages of farmers who report that landlords, with regard to farming operations, exercise varying degrees of control

Tenure status and kinship	Total number reporting	Percentages			
		A 1/	B 1/	C 1/	D 1/
Northern					
By tenure:					
Landlords	110	25.5	50.0	15.5	4.6
Renters	247	51.0	34.4	8.9	2.0
Croppers	16	25.0	50.0	18.7	-
Laborers	69	2.9	10.1	21.7	62.3
By kinship to landlord:					
Related tenants	77	41.6	44.1	10.4	-
Unrelated tenants	186	52.7	31.7	9.1	2.7
Southern white					
By tenure:					
Landlords	193	43.5	9.3	19.2	23.8
Renters	274	86.9	7.3	1.8	.7
Croppers	168	58.9	19.6	10.7	9.5
Laborers	53	7.5	9.4	9.4	54.7
By kinship to landlord:					
Related tenants	98	83.7	8.2	3.1	4.1
Unrelated tenants	344	74.1	13.1	5.8	4.1
Negro					
By tenure:					
Landlords	30	43.3	20.0	23.3	3.3
Renters	253	75.9	4.7	12.3	6.3
Croppers	372	32.0	11.0	21.0	35.8
Laborers	89	4.5	2.2	13.5	74.2
By kinship to: landlord:					
Related tenants	36	66.7	11.1	13.9	8.3
Unrelated tenants	589	48.7	8.3	17.7	24.8

1/ (A) Leave decisions entirely up to tenants/employees; (B) simply discuss problems with them; (C) usually suggest what to do but do not command; (D) give strict orders.

frequency than the unrelated tenant. Among Southern white tenants the landlord, when he is dealing with a relative, more often "simply discusses problems" and "suggests but does not command." Among Negroes the unrelated tenant receives strict orders from his landlord considerably more often than does the related tenant (Table 93). Thus we see again that the nature of the status held by a tenure category in the North is decidedly different from that of the comparable category among Southern farmers.

Northern landlords and tenants get together more frequently to discuss their mutual problems than do Southern landlords and tenants. This is true whether we examine the evidence given by landlord or by tenant. The renter in each sample population clearly has greater independence in his operation of the farm than does either of the other non-owning tenure classes, but the Northern renter either through choice or necessity is not left so completely to himself in running the farm as is the Southern renter.

The cropper in all three sample populations holds an intermediate position. In the North, however, this status approximates that of the renter much more closely than that of the laborer, whereas in the South, particularly among Negroes, it seems to partake as much of the laborer's as of the renter's position.

As a final tenure-class comparison with respect to the nature of the landlord-tenant interaction, we may consider briefly the proportions in the various tenure classes who are visited frequently or rarely in the four "degree-of-landlord-influence" categories. By "frequently visited" non-owners are meant those who report being visited by their landlords daily, several times a week, or weekly; and by those who are "rarely visited" we mean to include those who report being visited by their landlords several times a year but not oftener than once a month. Among related renters in the North over one-fourth say their landlords leave decisions entirely up to them and they are visited rarely. Likewise, among unrelated renters the most common situation (31 percent of the cases) is for the landlord to leave the decisions entirely up to the renter and to visit the farm rarely. The antithesis of this situation, with regard to degree of landlord influence, is to be found among unrelated Negro croppers in the South: most frequently (33.6 percent of the cases) they report receiving strict orders from their landlords and being visited frequently.

In terms of these four categories, the largest proportions of non-owning informants in each of the sample populations say that their landlords leave decisions with respect to farming operations to be made by themselves. Only among Southern whites, however, does the proportion giving this response include a large majority (almost 70 percent). Among Northern farmers the category "landlord simply discusses problems" includes almost one-third of all non-owners, while among Negro farmers a similar proportion is found in the category "landlord gives

strict orders." The distributions in the three sample populations according to these types of landlord-tenant interaction, however, are strongly influenced by the proportions of all farmers in a sample population who belong to one or another tenure class. Therefore, we shall next take up a tenure-class analysis of the landlord-tenant interactions in the three sample populations.

In just one-half of all cases, Northern landlords report that they simply discuss farming problems with their tenants or laborers. One-fourth leave decisions entirely up to the tenant or laborer, and only one-twentieth give strict orders. Northern renters most often say their landlords leave decisions entirely up to them. This is true in slightly over one-half the cases. About one-third say their landlords discuss problems with them. Less than one-tenth say the landlord suggests, but does not command, while 2 percent say they are given strict orders by their landlords. Northern croppers most frequently say their landlords discuss problems with them, the proportion giving this response being the same as that among landlords. In fact, the responses of Northern croppers parallel those of Northern landlords quite closely throughout. Northern laborers, on the other hand, in only 3 percent of all cases say that decisions are left entirely up to them. About 10 percent say that problems are simply discussed with their employers. Twenty percent, roughly, say they receive suggestions but not commands while over 60 percent say they are given strict orders.

A large majority of tenants among white Southern farmers say their landlords leave decisions entirely up to them. This is true for nearly 90 percent of renters and for 60 percent of croppers. Landlords also report this to be the case more often than otherwise. In fact, throughout this sample population comparatively few informants mention any other type of relationship, with the exception of laborers who report in 55 percent of the cases that they are given strict orders.

Negro renters, as do Southern white tenants, in a large majority of cases (over 75 percent) say that decisions are left entirely up to them. Other types of relationship are reported comparatively infrequently. Negro croppers, on the other hand, report that they are given strict orders more often than that any other type of relationship exists. This category includes about 36 percent of all Negro croppers. About 32 percent say that decisions are left up to them, while about 20 percent say they usually receive suggestions but not commands.

Between these two extremes exists a wide variety of combinations of frequency or rarity of visitation by the landlord, coupled with varying degrees of control exercised in the course of those visits. Although there are but few croppers in the North and although these are visited frequently, they say that their landlords simply discuss problems with them. Not one of them says that he is given strict orders by his landlord. White croppers in the South, similarly, although not so free from strict supervision as Northern croppers, report frequent visits and strict

Table 94.- Percentages of tenants who report that landlords, with regard to farming operations, exercise varying degrees of control, classified by frequency of landlord's visits to the farm

Degree of control and frequency of landlord's visits ^{1/}	:	Related renters	:	Unrelated renters	:	Related croppers	:	Unrelated croppers
Northern:								
Total number reporting		67		180		10		6
(A)								
Frequently		4		-		-		-
Rarely		27		31		10		17
(B)								
Frequently		10		3		50		-
Rarely		18		21		-		17
(C)								
Frequently		6		1		-		-
Rarely		3		4		10		-
(D)								
Frequently		-		1		-		-
Rarely		-		2		-		-
Southern white:								
Total number reporting		62		213		37		131
(A)								
Frequently		-		-		-		3
Rarely		5		7		3		1
(B)								
Frequently		3		3		11		13
Rarely		2		2		-		5
(C)								
Frequently		2		1		3		10
Rarely		-		1		3		1
(D)								
Frequently		-		1		8		8
Rarely		2		-		-		1
Negro:								
Total number reporting		18		235		18		354
(A)								
Frequently		-		-		6		-
Rarely		-		1		-		1
(B)								
Frequently		6		1		6		7
Rarely		-		3		1		3
(C)								
Frequently		-		6		22		15
Rarely		6		5		-		5
(D)								
Frequently		-		5		17		34
Rarely		-		2		-		2

^{1/} (A) Leave decisions entirely up to tenants/employees; (B) simply discuss problems with them; (C) usually suggest what to do but do not command; (D) give strict orders. Concerning use of terms "frequently" and "rarely" see text, page 158.

orders only one-fourth as often as do Negro croppers. White renters report practically no instances of such frequency of visitation or strictness of control, although it is reported by 5 percent of Negro unrelated renters. In other words, the Negro renter, though far freer and more independent than the cropper, is still not so completely independent as the white renter.

Thus we get a sort of hierarchy of independence among non-owners, the greatest degree of independence being found, apparently, among Northern renters and croppers and Southern white renters. Then come Negro renters, white croppers, and Negro croppers in that order. Whether this hierarchy points to innate and ineradicable differences, or whether it means simply that different ways of doing things have become customary among different groups of farmers, is not our question to answer; but the fact that Negro renters definitely show greater independence than white croppers indicates that the differences involved do not strictly follow race lines (Table 94).

The Question of the Rental Agreement

As was pointed out in chapter II, the nature of the rental agreement is regarded by many students of problems related to tenancy as practically the crux of the problem of improving the tenant's situation. The rental agreement can have little binding control, however, or contain but few of the numerous and complex suggested provisions unless it is written rather than verbal. Accordingly, it is important to ascertain the proportion in each tenure class who report having written leases.

We find that in the North nearly one-half of all tenants say they have written rental agreements. Part-owners report them only in one-fourth of the cases. About the same proportion of landlords in the North report written rental agreements. Laborers regardless of sample population practically never report having a written contract as the basis of their relationships to their employers.

Among Southern white farmers the largest proportion of written rental agreements reported by any tenure class is found among renters, and here it is only about one-fifth of the total. Only one-tenth of croppers report the same. Likewise landlords in only about one-tenth of the cases say they have written leases. No part-owners report written leases.

Among Negro farmers, on the other hand, almost two-thirds of part-owners report written rental agreements, which is the largest proportion reported by any Negro tenure class. Next come renters, among whom the proportion is almost 40 percent, while only 15 percent of croppers report written rental agreements. The percentage of Negro landlords reporting the same, about 20 percent, is midway between the proportions found among Northern landlords and Southern white landlords (Table 95).

What is the relationship between kinship to landlord and the use of written rental agreements? In the North and among Negro farmers the written rental agreement is found considerably less frequently when kinsfolk are involved than when landlord and tenant are unrelated. It may be pointed out further that the proportion of white related non-owners having written leases is about twice as large as that found among colored related non-owners (Table 95).

Table 95.- Percentages of farmers reporting written rental agreements, classified by tenure, by kinship to landlord, and by local area

Tenure status, kinship and local area	:	:	:	:
	:	Northern	Southern white	Negro
<hr/>				
By Tenure:				
Landlords	26.4	11.4		20.0
Part-owners	22.0	-		60.0
Renters	46.4	20.4		38.7
Croppers	<u>1/</u>	11.3		16.1
By Kinship to Landlord:				
Related Tenants	17.4	14.4		7.9
Unrelated Tenants	23.9	15.3		23.1
By Local Area:				
Illinois (McLean)	50.0			
Iowa (Jones)	62.1			
Missouri (Gentry)	49.3			
Ohio (Mercer)	21.4			
Alabama (Hale)		88.9		59.4
Arkansas (Jefferson)		25.0		21.2
Louisiana (Red River Parish)		17.5		14.4
North Carolina (Union)		2.9		1.9
North Carolina (Wilson)		1.9		9.7
Oklahoma (Beckham)		27.7		<u>2/</u>
South Carolina (Greenville)		8.0		11.1
Tennessee (Crockett)		23.0		12.5
Texas (Collin)		7.0		<u>2/</u>
Texas (Nacogdoches)		14.3		-

1/ Figures for Northern croppers included with those for renters.

2/ No Negroes interviewed.

Before concluding this discussion, it is desirable to ascertain the extent to which farmers say they want their rental agreements to be in writing. The question put to each non-owner was this: "If you had the

chance, would you make any changes in your rental agreement?" If the farmer said "Yes," this question followed: "If so, what changes would you make?" In this way we hoped to learn exactly what was on the farmer's mind with regard to his leasing agreement, and particularly we hoped to learn what, if anything, was the chief source of irritation.

We asked the question in this way so that we should learn what farmers are actually thinking on this subject, and what changes they themselves would like to see brought about as distinguished from changes that are recommended by more academic specialists.

In the first place, the proportion of all non-owners who, asked the first question, answered, "Yes," they would like to make certain changes in their renting agreement if they had the chance, was comparatively small among white tenants but large among Negro tenants. Keeping this fact in mind we may take up the proportions who, when asked for the specific changes they had in mind, mentioned a written rental agreement. Among all Northern renters suggesting certain changes in leasing agreements, the proportion who specify among these changes a written rental agreement is 3 percent. Among Southern renters, both white and colored, the proportion specifying this type of change is about 20 percent. Among Southern croppers the percentage is only 15 in the case of white farmers, but nearly 30 among colored farmers. In other words, it seems that very few Northern renters who seriously want to have written leases are incapable of securing them. On the other hand, about one-fifth of Southern renters are apparently unable to secure this type of agreement with their landlords, and substantial proportions of croppers (about twice as many among colored farmers as among white) are in the same predicament (Table 96).

A second important element in the rental agreement which many regard as of basic significance is the period of time involved in the agreement, that is, the length of time that the two parties agree it shall run. Regardless of tenure class, large majorities of farmers in all three sample populations report that their rental agreements run for 1 year at a time only. The proportion among Northern farmers is practically two-thirds whether we consider the information supplied by landlords, part-owners, tenants, or laborers. The same is true of white part-owners in the South. Larger proportions of Southern white farmers in the remaining tenure classes report a similar rental period, the range being from 70 percent for laborers to nearly 90 percent for landlords. It will be noted that the percentage of white Southern landlords reporting 1-year leases, although higher than that found among white non-owning classes, is practically the same as that reported by non-owning Negro farmers. Regardless of tenure class, with the exception of landlords, Negro farmers report higher percentages operating on the basis of 1-year rental agreements than do the same tenure classes in other sample populations (Fig. 21, p. 166).

Table 96.- Percentages of tenant farmers dissatisfied with present rental agreement who suggest specified changes 1/

Suggested changes	: Northern :		Southern white :		Negro	
	: tenants		: Renters:	Croppers:	Renters:	Croppers
Written rental agreement	2.9		21.2	15.5	18.9	27.8
Longer term for lease	50.7		28.8	11.1	25.8	16.1
Increase tenant's share of income	33.2		15.2	51.1	39.4	50.4
More supervision of tenant by landlord	1.4		1.5	15.1	2.3	8.5
Less supervision of tenant by landlord	5.8		10.6	6.7	6.1	2.8
Compensation of tenant for his improvement of farm	7.2		3.0	2.2	7.6	13.7
Compensation of landlord by tenant for damaging farm	-		1.5	-	2.3	18.2
Increase of landlord's share of income	-		1.5	2.2	.8	1.4
More repairs to farm buildings, etc.	5.8		-	2.2	1.5	.9
Change mode of rent payment	1.4		10.6	2.2	3.8	1.9
Better credit arrangements	1.4		1.5	-	4.5	5.7
Fairer treatment or settlement	-		-	-	-	5.2
Total number reporting	69		66	45	132	212

1/ Some respondents gave more than one suggestion.

Table 97.- Percentages of non-owners reporting 1-year rental agreements

	:	Total	:	Percentages report-
Sample population	:	reporting	:	ing 1-year rental
and tenure status	:	number	:	agreements
<hr/>				
Northern:				
Related to landlord		86		37
Unrelated to landlord		246		73
Southern white:				
Related to landlord		104		72
Unrelated to landlord		391		81
Negro:				
Related to landlord		38		61
Unrelated to landlord		656		90

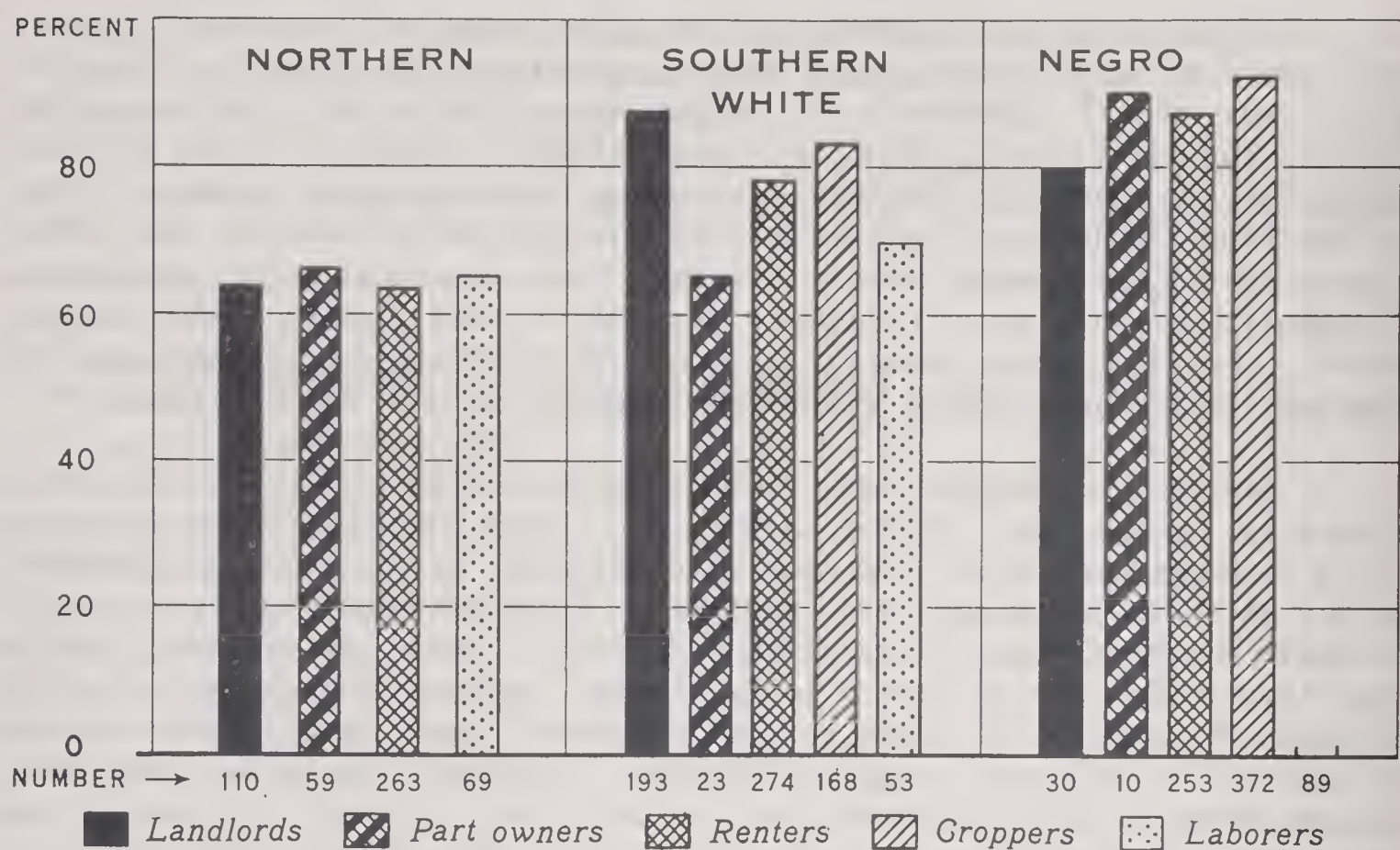
A comparison of related and unrelated tenants with respect to the same question shows that in each sample population the proportion reporting 1-year rental agreements is larger among the latter than among the former. The difference is greatest among Northern tenants, almost as great among Negroes, but considerably less among Southern white tenants. This is due less to the fact that unrelated Southern white tenants have fewer 1-year rental agreements than to the fact that so much larger a proportion of related tenants in this sample population have 1-year rental agreements. In fact, this proportion (over 70 percent) is practically the same as that found among unrelated tenants in the North (Table 97).

Let us now ascertain our farmers' preferences, assuming they had a chance to change their rental agreements. This is the crux of the tenant's problem more often than any other element in the leasing agreement so far as Northern tenants are concerned. Slightly over 50 percent of all Northern renters suggesting changes in their rental agreements specify that they would like to have a longer lease. Among the responses of white Southern renters it is likewise most frequent, being mentioned by nearly 30 percent of all who suggest changes. Although one other suggested change exceeds this in importance in the minds of Negro renters, it is mentioned by a sufficiently large proportion (25 percent) for us to regard it as unquestionably significant.

Briefly then, so far as white renters are concerned, no modification of present renting arrangements would meet with more widespread approval than an extension of the length of time for which their leases run. Furthermore, this type of change would meet with the approval of at least the 25 percent of Negro renters who mention it.

Accordingly, our data may be said to support the advocates of the lengthened rental agreement as one of the most promising points, if not the best one, at which to begin an attempted improvement in the lot of the tenant. Other problems assuredly exist, some of which may now be examined on the basis of the information supplied by our tenant farmers (Table 96). It would be difficult to say just what would be regarded as the optimum period of duration as we did not get information on this subject.

As was indicated, when white tenants are given the opportunity to specify any changes they would like to see introduced into their rental agreements, the large majority either respond negatively - they are not anxious to make any change - or are uncertain as to whether or not they would like to see changes made. Among white farmers fewer part-owners than those in any other tenure class say they would like to see such changes brought about. Among Negro farmers the smallest proportion is found among landlords. White landlords comparatively rarely suggest changes. Among Northern farmers more tenants (between 25 and 30 percent) than members of any other tenure class indicate a desire for changes. Among Southern white farmers changes are suggested by between 25 and 30 percent in each non-owning tenure class. Not until we examine the re-

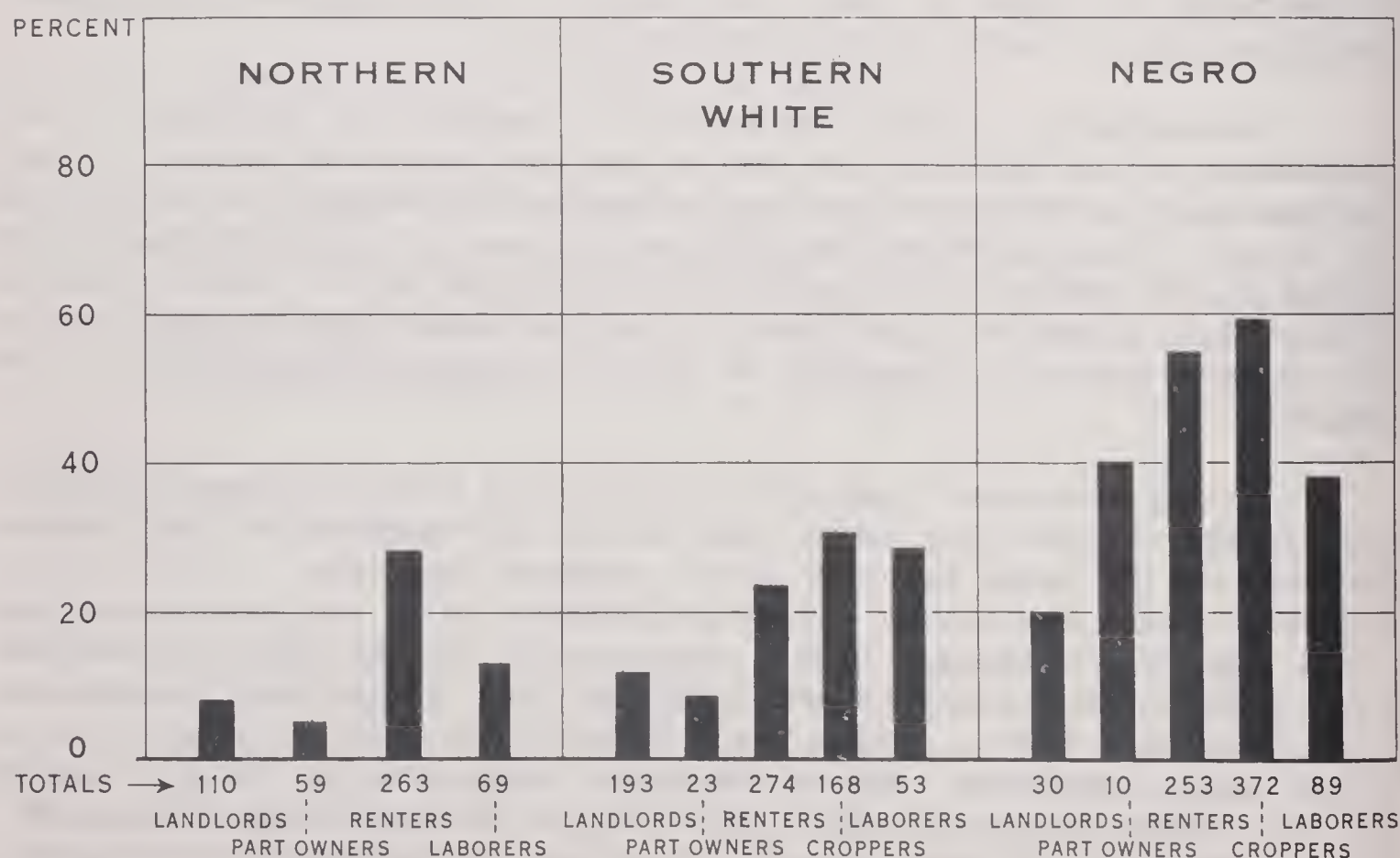


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FIGURE 21.- PERCENTAGES OF FARMERS WHO HAVE ONE-YEAR RENTAL AGREEMENTS.



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FIGURE 22.- PERCENTAGES OF FARMERS WHO SAY THEY WOULD LIKE TO MAKE CHANGES IN RENTAL AGREEMENTS.

sponses of Negro farmers, however, do we find the percentage of non-owners suggesting changes actually to exceed the proportion who do not specify desired changes. Forty percent of colored laborers, 55 percent of colored renters, and practically 60 percent of colored croppers suggest one or more desired changes in their rental agreements.

On this basis we may say that part-owners in the North represent the one extreme, while colored croppers in the South represent the opposite, regarding degree of satisfaction felt with present rental arrangements, there being relatively nearly 12 of the latter to every 1 of the former who specify desired changes in rental agreements (Fig. 22).

Table 98.- Percentages of tenants dissatisfied with present agreements 1/

Sample population and tenure status	Total number: : reporting	Percentages report- : ing dissatisfaction
Northern:		
Related to landlord	77	10
Unrelated to landlord	186	36
Southern white:		
Related to landlord	98	16
Unrelated to landlord	344	29
Negro:		
Related to landlord	36	17
Unrelated to landlord	353	60

1/ Total figures include renters and croppers only.

In each of the sample populations significant differences appear between the proportions of related and unrelated tenants who are dissatisfied with their present renting agreements. Changes are suggested by over three times as many unrelated as related non-owners in the North, by almost twice as many among white farmers in the South, and by nearly four times as many among colored farmers. Larger proportions of instances of dissatisfaction - of suggested changes - are reported by related tenants in the South, both among white and Negro, than in the North. The largest proportion of dissatisfied tenants (60 percent) is found among colored tenants unrelated to landlord. The greater degree of satisfaction experienced by related tenants in their relationships with their landlords is probably one of the most important points of difference between them and unrelated tenants (Table 98).

Let us now take up the types of changes suggested in addition to the two already mentioned - written rental agreements and longer terms for leases. The latter suggestion is given more frequently than any other by white renters, both in the North and in the South, but among Southern croppers, both white and colored, much larger percentages say they think the tenant should have a bigger share of the farm income. No less than 50 percent of all croppers specifying changes in either Southern sample population give this suggestion. It is likewise mentioned more frequently than any other type of change by colored renters. Among Northern renters just one-third of all those suggesting changes make the same recommendation (Table 96, p. 164).

Next most important among Southern tenants, in terms of frequency, is the written rental agreement. But this does not hold true regarding Northern tenants, for three other types of changes are mentioned with greater frequency by them. Those other suggestions are: first, that the tenant should be compensated for what permanent improvements he makes in the farm; second, that there should be less supervision by landlord over the tenant; and third, that the landlord should keep the farm buildings, fences, etc., in general better repair. No other responses given by Northern tenants appear with significant frequency (Table 96, p. 164).

Among white Southern farmers rather marked differences are to be found between changes recommended by renters and by croppers. Practically 15 percent of these croppers suggesting changes say they want more supervision by landlord over tenant, while one-half this percentage, apparently feeling that the landlord already exercises too much control, say they would prefer to have less supervision. About 10 percent of white Southern renters say they would prefer less supervision by the landlord; less than 2 percent would prefer the opposite change. About 10 percent of the same group would prefer to have a change made in the mode of rent payment, while this is true of only 2 percent of croppers. Scattering responses make up the remaining suggestions (Table 96, p. 164).

The same discrepancy as was found among Southern whites appears between colored croppers and renters with regard to the question of supervision by landlord over tenant. Colored tenants are much less concerned about supervision by landlord, however, either to increase or to diminish it, than they are about the other changes that have previously been discussed.

Among the scattering small percentages which remain, only two seem worth noting. First, about 5 percent both of renters and of croppers suggest better credit arrangements. This percentage, while small, is larger than that found among white farmers, either Northern or Southern. Second, practically 5 percent of colored croppers say they would like to see fairer treatment from their landlords, or greater justness in settlement, than they now receive. This type of change, although mentioned by only a few colored croppers, is not specified by any white farmers nor by any colored renters (Table 96, p. 164).

Landlord-Tenant Disagreements

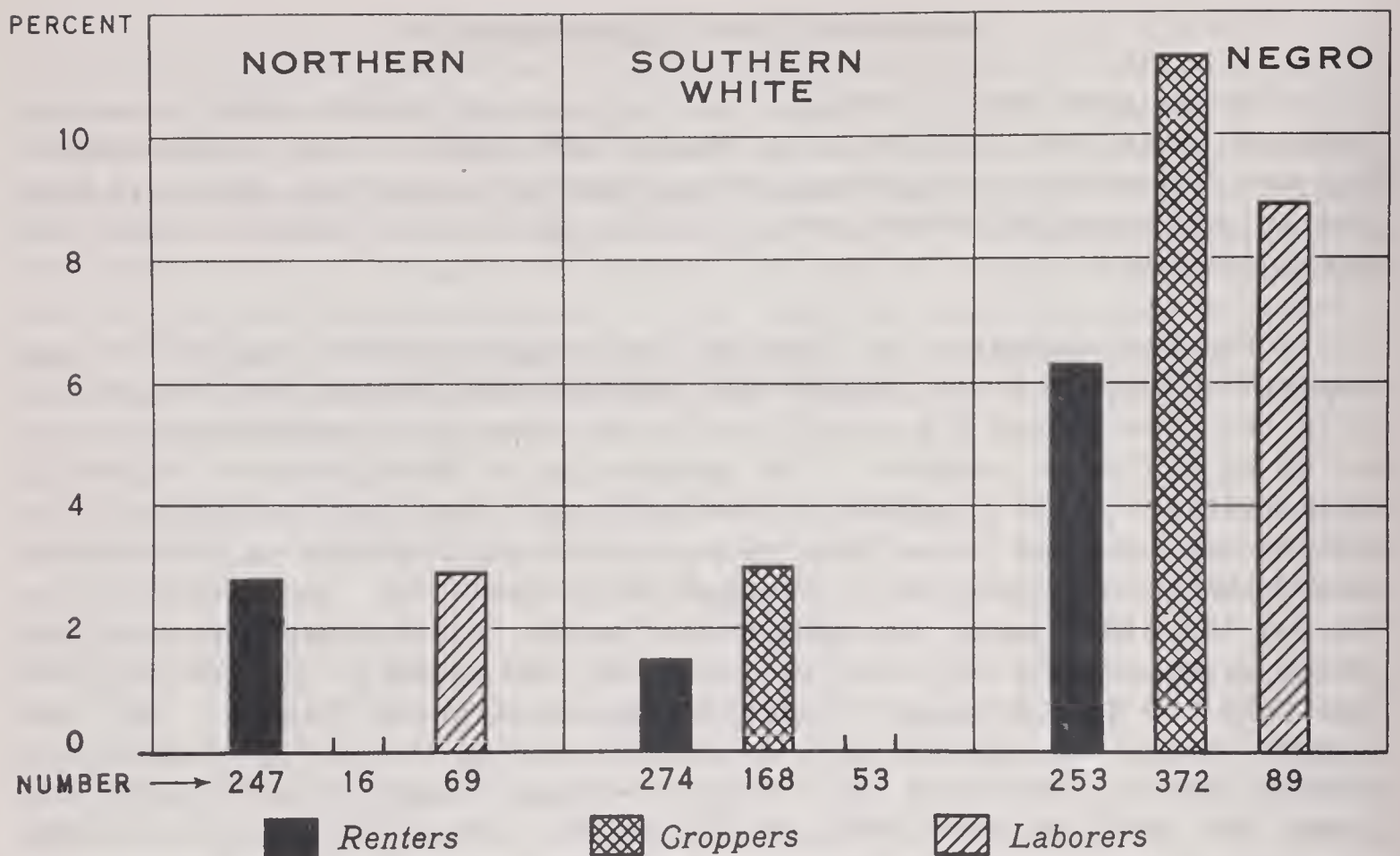
As pointed out in chapter II, it is only rarely that potential landlord-tenant conflict actually reaches the stage of open disagreement. That the frequency of disagreements reported by colored non-owners is much greater than among white non-owners, either Northern or Southern, has also been indicated.

The next question is: How do the tenure classes compare in this respect? Among Northern renters and laborers the frequencies are practically the same (about 3 percent), while no cases of disagreement are reported by Northern croppers. The proportion of disagreements appearing among Southern white croppers is identical with that found among Northern renters and laborers; even fewer are reported for Southern white renters; none whatever are reported for Southern white laborers. Among Negro farmers, on the other hand, the proportion in the tenure class reporting the fewest disagreements is twice as large as that found in the tenure class reporting the most frequent disagreements among white farmers. Colored croppers report disagreements with landlord during the past year more frequently than do either of the other non-owning tenure classes among Negroes, but farm laborers come not far behind. About one in ten in these two tenure classes reports having had a disagreement of this type during the past year, while over one in twenty among colored renters reports the same (Fig. 23).

Table 99.- Percentages of non-owners reporting disagreements with landlords during the past year

Sample population and tenure status	:Total number: Percentages report- : reporting : ing disagreements	
Northern:		
Related to landlord	86	2
Unrelated to landlord	246	3
Southern white:		
Related to landlord	104	1
Unrelated to landlord	391	2
Negro:		
Related to landlord	38	3
Unrelated to landlord	676	10

The influence of kinship to landlord upon disputes between tenant and landlord is pronounced. In the sample population reporting most frequent disagreements with landlord (Negro farmers), these are nearly four times as frequent among unrelated non-owners as among related non-owners.

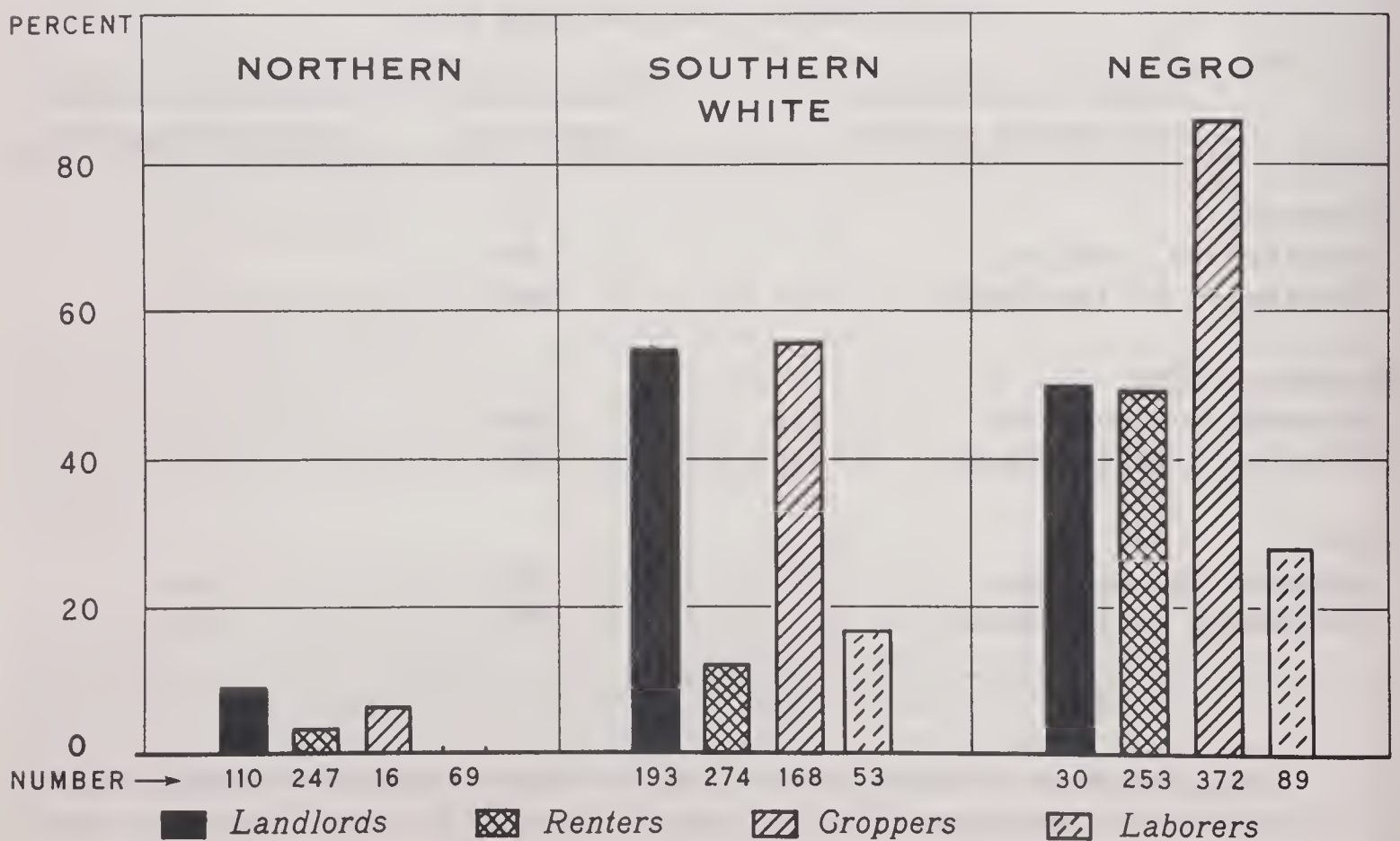


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FIGURE 23.- PERCENTAGES OF NON-OWNERS REPORTING DISAGREEMENTS WITH LANDLORD/EMPLOYER DURING PAST YEAR.



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FIGURE 24.- PERCENTAGES OF FARMERS REPORTING LANDLORD TO HAVE CONTROL OVER TENANTS'/EMPLOYEES' OPERATING CREDIT.

Although the same tendency is present in the other two sample populations, the differences are not nearly so pronounced (Table 99). These findings support the contention that a full understanding of the problems of Southern landlords and tenants is impossible without an adequate understanding of race relations in the South.

Operating Credit

To what extent do landlords control the operating credit of their tenants? Croppers report that their landlords have control over operating credit more frequently than do members of other tenure classes. The differences between croppers and renters in this respect, however, are much greater in the South than in the North. Close to 5 percent of Northern croppers (and renters as well) report landlord control over credit. Southern white croppers, on the other hand, report this to be the case in 56 percent of the cases, while the same is true regarding 85 percent of colored croppers. A marked difference between white and Negro renters in the South appears in this respect, for only 12 percent of white renters and practically 50 percent of colored renters report landlord control over operating credit. In other words, this type of control is exerted by the landlord four times as often when the renter is colored as when he is white. No Northern laborers report landlord control over operating credit, but such control is reported by 17 percent of Southern white and 28 percent of colored laborers.

Landlords' information regarding the frequency with which they control operating credit is in general consistent with the foregoing, but there is a tendency among Southern farmers for landlords to report such control less frequently than do tenants, whereas in the North the reverse is the case. Apparent discrepancies are probably due to the fact that landlords' information refers to selected classes of tenants.

What bearing has kinship to landlord on this matter? Among white farmers, both Northern and Southern, the related tenant more frequently than the unrelated tenant reports that his landlord has control over operating credit. Among Negro farmers, on the other hand, there is a slight tendency in the opposite direction. But these differences seem to be much less significant than the differences associated with tenure classes and with the sample populations (Table 100).

Inasmuch as the proportion of Northern farmers reporting landlord control over operating credit is small, the comparison that follows will be made only with respect to Southern farmers. Among farmers reporting that landlords control operating credit, what proportions state that the landlord also "stands good" for the tenant's debts? Information on this topic would seem to constitute a necessary reverse side of the picture of landlord-tenant relations, the obverse of which, often thought to be the whole, consists of landlord domination. Rights are usually accompanied by duties, however, and every unit of authority or control tends to carry with it a corresponding unit of responsibility.

Table 100.- Percentages of non-owners reporting landlord to have control over non-owners' operating credit

Sample population and tenure status	: Total number : : reporting	: Percentages reporting : landlord control of credit
Northern:		
Related to landlord	86	6
Unrelated to landlord	246	2
Southern white:		
Related to landlord	104	32
Unrelated to landlord	391	26
Negro:		
Related to landlord	38	61
Unrelated to landlord	676	66

Table 101.- Percentages of Southern landlords reported by landlords, renters, croppers, and laborers as having control over non-owners' operating credit who stand good for non-owners' debts

Tenure and kinship	: Total reporting credit: : control by landlord	: Percentages of these who : stand good for debts
Southern white		
By tenure of informant:		
Landlords	104	62
Renters	33	54
Croppers	94	54
Laborers	9	55
By kinship to landlord:		
Related	33	58
Unrelated	103	53
Negro		
By tenure of informant:		
Landlords	15	73
Renters	125	69
Croppers	319	79
Laborers	25	60
By kinship to landlord:		
Related	23	78
Unrelated	446	75

Here, then, is some evidence of the paternalistic side of the landlord-tenant relationship in the South, an aspect which is insignificant in the North because the authority of landlord over tenant, of which it is a counterpart, is there lacking. Not less than one-half the farmers in any Southern tenure class, white or colored, who report the landlord to have control over tenants' operating credit also say that he stands good for tenants' debts. This proportion is lowest among white non-owners, higher among white landlords, and highest among Negro croppers, among whom the proportion acknowledging such landlord "backing" rises to nearly four out of five (79 percent). It is well to keep in mind this phase of Southern landlord-tenant relations, for the pattern of obligations often assumed by the landlord, deriving largely from historic antecedents, is likely to be overlooked (Table 101).

Just a word may be said about kinship to landlord before leaving this topic. About a third again as many white, and a half again as many Negro, related as unrelated non-owners report such landlord backing (Table 101).

Where Will the Tenant be Farming Next Year?

One final topic remains to be discussed. It involves a question which helps to account for the relative mobility shown by the several tenure classes, and also throws further light on landlord-tenant relationships. The question asked our non-owning informants was this: "Do you intend to remain on this farm next year?" If the farmer responded with a definite "Yes" or "No," he was asked "Why" or "Why not?"

Beginning with Northern non-owners, we find that less than 10 percent of the renters, 13 percent of the laborers, but none of the croppers say they do not intend to stay on the present farm next year. Among Southern white non-owners the proportion in each tenure class intending not to stay is larger than in the corresponding tenure class among Northern farmers. The proportions range between 16 and 21 percent, increasing from renters through croppers to laborers, which tenure class contains the largest proportion intending to move next year. Among Negro farmers, on the other hand, sharp differences appear between the tenure classes. The proportion of laborers anticipating moves far exceeds that of any other tenure class in any sample population, and renters report a proportion even lower than that of Southern white renters. In fact, among Negro non-owners, the proportions intending not to remain on the present farm for the following year are in the ratio of 1 among renters, 2 among croppers, and 3 among laborers. Thus we may say that, with the exception of Northern croppers, though few seem to be more stable than Northern renters, there is an increasing proportion of those who do not intend to remain next year on their present farm as we go from the upper to the lower tenure classes among non-owning farmers. This is true in each sample population. Tenure differences in this respect, however, are by far most pronounced among Negroes (Table 102).

Table 102.- Percentages of non-owners who report that they do not intend to stay on present farm next year

Tenure and status	Total number of cases	Percentages expecting to move
Northern		
By tenure:		
Renters	247	9
Croppers	16	-
Laborers	69	13
By kinship to landlord:		
Related	86	8
Unrelated	246	26
Southern white		
By tenure:		
Renters	274	16
Croppers	168	18
Laborers	53	21
By kinship to landlord:		
Related	104	12
Unrelated	391	23
Negro		
By tenure:		
Renters	253	10
Croppers	372	20
Laborers	89	32
By kinship to landlord:		
Related	38	8
Unrelated	676	25

What do we find with regard to related and unrelated non-owners? Large and consistent differences appear in each of the three sample populations: related non-owners more frequently than the unrelated non-owners consistently intend to remain where they now are. The proportion of unrelated non-owners who intend to remain on the present farm next year is practically 75 percent in each of the sample populations, while among related non-owners the proportion rises to over 90 percent among Northern and Southern colored farmers, and only slightly below 90 percent among Southern white farmers. ^{26/} Thus we see in operation the stabilizing influence of the strong bonds of kinship between landlord and tenant (Table 102).

^{26/} These percentages represent simply the differences between 100 percent and the figures for those not intending to remain on present farm next year (Table 102).

Returning now to those non-owners who say they do not intend to remain on the present farm during the coming year, let us examine the explanations they give for their expected departure. Since the numbers of Northern non-owners who say they intend to move are small, we can hardly attach much significance to the relative frequencies with which various types of responses are given. But there is little difference between the proportion of renters who attribute their departure to pressure on the part of the landlord and the proportion of those who say that they themselves are dissatisfied with the present place and are therefore looking for another. Northern croppers, on the other hand, imply landlord influence to be more frequently responsible than their own determination to move.

Among Southern white farmers we find a different situation. The renter is much more likely to be forced to move by his landlord, apparently, than he is to decide for himself to make a shift. There are about three times as many cases of the former type as of the latter. Among Southern white laborers, on the other hand, the laborer himself much more often reports dissatisfaction with the present farm or working conditions and himself decides that he wants to move. Among croppers the proportions in both categories - landlord pressure on the one hand and non-owners' determination on the other - are similar.

One further category of responses has been singled out as possessing interest and significance: these are the responses to the effect that the landlord is responsible for the informant's expecting to be elsewhere next year, and that unfairness on the part of the landlord is at least contributing to, if it is not actually causing, the anticipated move. Responses of this type among Southern white tenants (about one in twenty) are significant not so much because of their frequency as because of the fact that they are present at all. No such responses are given by Northern informants.

Among Negro farmers, on the other hand, this type of response is much more frequently present, relatively, than in the case of Southern white farmers and it carries weight because of the numbers of persons by whom it is given. One out of every ten Negro renters and one out of every five Negro croppers who say that they do not expect to be on the present farm next year give as their explanations their feeling that the landlord is unfair or unjust in his treatment of them. Indications of this distrustful attitude on the part of Negro non-owners toward their landlords have already been pointed out. The recurrence of the idea, if nothing else, would seem to force its consideration in any serious attempt at understanding the status of the colored tenant, his relations to his landlord, his desire to shift about, and possibly his readiness, given industrial opportunities, to abandon the Southern farm for the Southern city, or even for the North.

This type of response is emphasized, accordingly, for it seems to give more insight than do the more numerous responses indicating landlord responsibility for non-owner's departure but involving no specified unfairness. We remember that it is among renters that landlords are most frequently reported as being responsible for the contemplated move. In fact, apparently a colored renter never says that he intends to move because he himself is dissatisfied with the farm, because it is too small in size, too poor, or in any other way unsatisfactory (Table 103).

Table 103.- Non-owners not intending to stay on present farm next year who report specified reasons for not staying

Sample population: and tenure status	Landlord forces departure			:Non-owner not satisfied with present farm
	: Total <u>1/</u>	: No unfairness specified	: Unfairness specified	
Northern:				
Renters	23	30	-	26
Croppers	-	-	-	-
Laborers	9	56	-	-
Southern white:				
Renters	43	49	5	16
Croppers	30	37	3	33
Laborers	11	18	-	54
Negro:				
Renters	26	31	11	-
Croppers	73	25	19	14
Laborers	28	11	-	11

1/ Percentages for those reporting other reasons, not shown.

By way of summary we may say, then, regarding these responses of non-owners who do not expect to remain next year in their present locations, that landlord pressure for departure falls most heavily on those tenure classes in the South that seem to be most independent. More important, however, may be the fact that unfairness on the part of the landlord as a cause of non-owners' expected shifting to a new place is found most frequently among colored tenants, less often among Southern white tenants, and is mentioned not at all by tenants in the North.

Chapter VI

MOVES AND MIGRATIONS: HOW OFTEN AND HOW FAR? 27/

Stability or Mobility

The highways of this country in recent years have carried more and more families on the move. The tourist camp and its more youthful associate, the automobile trailer, seem to have come to stay. But long before either of these appeared, "moving day" in farming areas brought out large numbers of farm families. Moving day, like the tourist camp and the trailer, seems to be an American institution. Older countries generally display less of this incessant shifting about induced by the hope of bettering one's circumstances. Families tend more largely to live in the same houses year after year, and generation after generation, with little thought of seeking other locations. Surplus mature offspring may look for openings elsewhere, probably in the nearest city, but the family tends to stay firmly rooted. The American farmer, on the other hand, at least the non-owning farmer, seems to have one eye perpetually cocked and one ear always listening for rumors of greener pastures, of more fertile soils, of more to be had for less effort in another place.

It is not the purpose of this discussion to praise or to blame either the pattern of life which leads a man to spend his declining years in the spot where he first saw the light of day or the pattern which keeps him more or less constantly on the move or prepared to move. Neither is completely good nor completely bad, for both the nomadic and stable types of existence offer certain basic satisfactions. Our present objective is to determine whether the various tenure classes are characterized more by the one or the other mode of existence, and to what degree the tenure-class characteristics persist. We also wish to know whether these characteristics are similar or different in the three sample populations under consideration. It seems more important to try to understand why the

27/ It may be well to point out the different meanings here attached to the two terms, "moves" and "migrations," representing two types of changes of residence. The move begins in scope with the simple shift from one farm to the next, and includes other short distance shifts. The migration, on the other hand, begins with shifts from one hemisphere to another hemisphere, from one country to another country, and from one large area or section of the country to another. A move shades into a migration as it involves a longer distance, as it includes a shift from one large political division to another of the same rank; the migration, in contrast, begins with the long-distance movement and shades into the move as it involves shorter and shorter distances. Both types of shifting are of importance, but for most American farmers today what is here called a "move" is by far the more important type of phenomenon.

farmers in our country move from place to place so frequently, and to see if we can find out what they prefer in the way of a location.

Before turning to the findings, let us look briefly at the factors that seem to promote mobility in the farm population. One element, certainly, is the relentless, driving desire for improvement of one's lot and for placing one's children in a position of relative advancement. There seems to be an incurable optimism regarding what the next place may offer. "Grass always looks greener on the other side of the fence" is an old rural saying.

To understand fully this type of attitude and its significance among farmers today, it would probably be necessary to scan the entire history of the country, for the ancestors of these very farmers undertook, in their day, much greater migrations with at least partly the same motivation. This traditional freedom of the individual or the family to come and go as it thinks best in searching for a place that seems to offer the most favorable prospects naturally inhibits the enactment of laws that might unduly restrict such movement. Under these circumstances it would seem that the better the means of transportation and the more efficient the means of communication, the greater would be the possibilities for satisfying these wishes for new and better opportunities and, hence, the greater would be the amount of movement.

But there are various influences that make for a stabilization of population in space. Friends, kinsfolk, cumbersome or immovable possessions, lack of knowledge of greater opportunities elsewhere, and an adequate degree of satisfaction with present conditions or potentialities, all tend to restrict the farmer's movement. From this point of view, it may well be that the improvement of means of transportation and communication serve to make the farmer better satisfied with his present lot and hence less anxious to move.

The fact that this country is constantly becoming older, however, is probably of more basic general importance than any other stabilizing factor. It seems probable that there will be less and less of violent shifting and moving about from one part of the country to another as the most remote of the fertile valleys and plains are filled up. The possibility of subduing vast untamed agricultural areas no longer exists. To be a pioneer today or to follow the modern frontier one probably should go to South America.

The fact that a father and possibly a grandfather once lived on a place seems even more reason why a son should remain there today. But this line of argument, it is recognized, does not hold good in the case of the non-owning farmer who, although not yet in the majority so far as the entire rural population is concerned, is becoming proportionately more numerous. The only factors that may promote stability for the landless farmer are those that make it more attractive for him to stay on his present location than to move elsewhere. And there seems to be too much

of the gambler in many a non-owning farmer for him to be willing to stay permanently in a situation whose limitations he already knows too well.

Lifetime Patterns of Moving

Most farmers are born on the farm. The overwhelming proportion of farmers in each of the three sample populations, regardless of tenure class, report their birthplaces to have been on the farms. This preponderance is greater in the South than in the North and reaches a maximum among colored farmers in the South. In this last group practically no tenure differences appear with respect to the proportions of present farmers who report that they were born on the farm. In the North, however, one out of every ten laborers was not born on a farm. This is true of somewhat smaller proportions likewise of Northern renters and owners. Among Southern white farmers, again, there are more laborers than members of any other tenure class who were born off the farm, but of the laborers only one in twenty reports a non-farm birthplace. Among Negro farmers there are slightly more owners than members in any other tenure class who report non-farm birth, but even among these the proportion is insignificant, being less than 3 percent of all Negro owners (Table 104).

What is the situation with respect to nativity of unrelated as compared with related non-owners? In each sample population, as would be expected, there are more unrelated non-owners who report being born off the farm than related non-owners. The proportion is again largest among Northern farmers and smallest among colored farmers. In general we may say that the current of movement from city to farm is practically insignificant with the exception of a trickle of laborers in the North who, although not born on farms, are now living and working there. Although there is much shifting back and forth from country to city and city to country, depending chiefly upon the relative economic advantages at a particular time, this movement evidently is primarily one of farm-born people who move to the city when times are good and back to the country when times there are bad. City-born people, on the other hand, seem to contribute only an insignificant proportion of the total farm population at any one time.

We have just seen that farm-born people largely make up the farm population. This does not mean, obviously, that farm people stay on the farms on which they are born. Tenure differences with respect to the degree of stability are present, however, in each sample population and represent one of the most significant differences to be found between the tenure classes.

The first measure of this lifetime pattern of movement to be presented involves a comparison of the proportions of farmers who today report that they are living in the same county in which they were born; in the same State, but not the same county; in a State adjoining that in which they were born; in some State other than an adjoining State; and finally, those who are now living in a country other than that in which

Table 104.- Percentages of farmers classified by type of birthplace and type of present residence (farm or non-farm) 1/

Item	Born on a farm		Born on a non-farm place	
	Present residence		Present residence	
	Farm	Non-farm	Farm	Non-farm
Northern				
By tenure:				
Owners	85.4	5.1	7.6	0.5
Tenants	90.9	-	8.7	-
Laborers	78.3	8.7	11.6	1.4
By kinship to landlord:				
Related	95.3	-	4.6	-
Unrelated	85.8	2.4	11.0	.4
Southern white				
By tenure:				
Owners	94.0	3.0	1.8	.3
Renters	96.7	.7	2.2	-
Croppers	93.4	-	4.8	-
Laborers	94.5	-	5.7	-
By kinship to landlord:				
Related	97.1	-	2.8	-
Unrelated	94.9	.5	3.6	-
Negro				
By tenure:				
Owners	95.3	1.7	2.3	-
Renters	98.8	-	.8	-
Croppers	98.1	-	.8	-
Laborers	98.9	-	1.1	-
By kinship to landlord:				
Related	100.0	-	-	-
Unrelated	98.4	-	.9	-

1/ Omitting cases for which type of birthplace was not reported.

they were born. In each sample population more owners are now living in the county of their birth, relatively, than are the members of any other tenure class. The differences between owners and tenants in the North and between Negro owners and renters in the South are slight. There are fewer laborers in each sample population who report they are now living in the same county in which they were born than there are members of any other tenure class. Among Southern whites, renters apparently have shifted about somewhat more than croppers, while among Negroes, using this same criterion, the reverse is true. Regardless of tenure class, a larger proportion of farmers fall in this category than in any other.

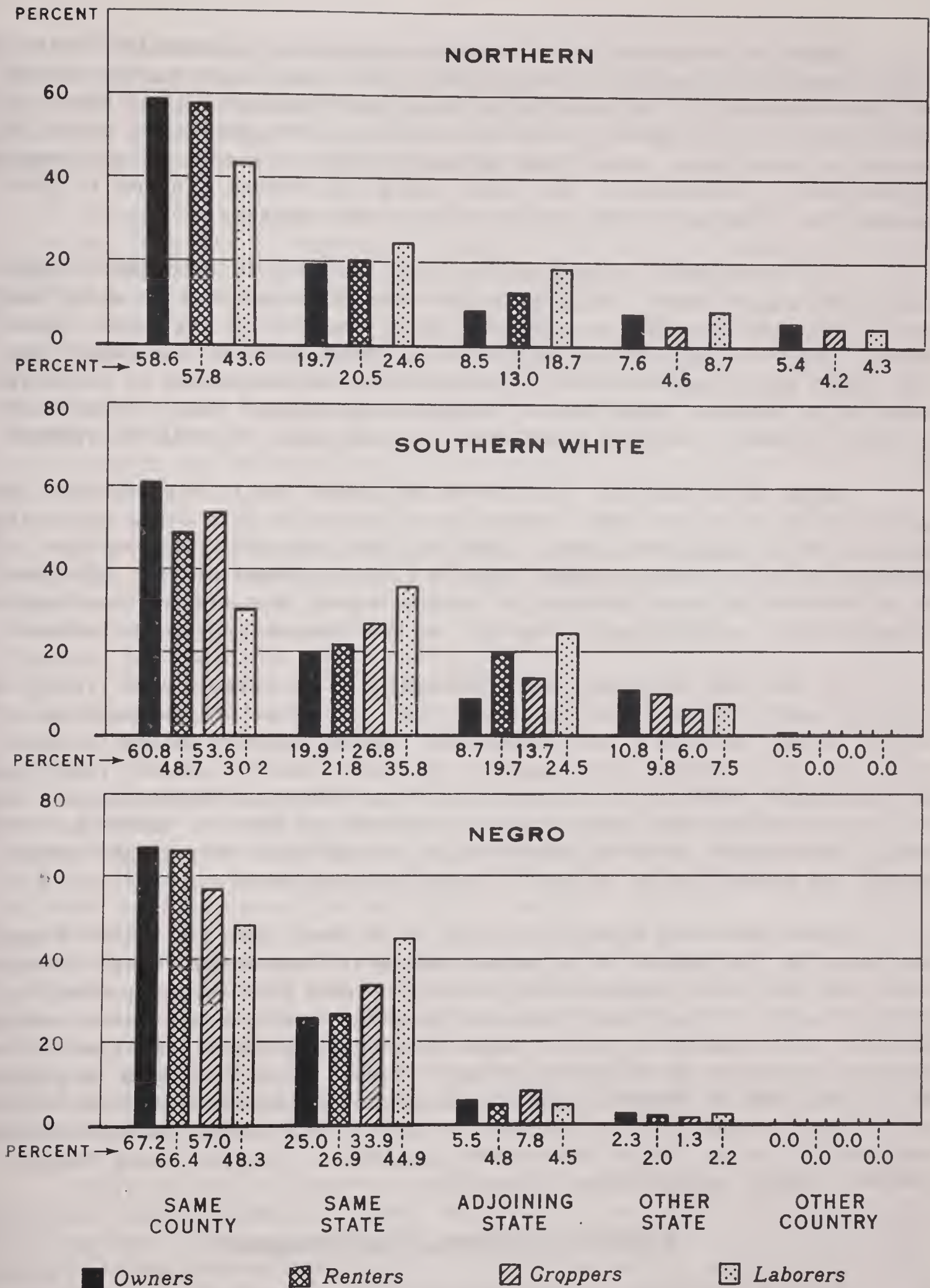


FIGURE 25.- PERCENTAGES OF FARMERS WHOSE PRESENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE AS COMPARED WITH PLACE OF BIRTH IS SAME COUNTY, OTHER COUNTY IN SAME STATE, ADJOINING STATE, OTHER STATE, OR OTHER COUNTRY.

There is one exception to this generalization: more white Southern farm laborers are living in some county other than their native county, but have remained in the same State, than have remained in the county of their birth. This second category, with the exception just noted, is second in importance, regardless of tenure class, in each of the sample populations. Furthermore, the order among the tenure classes is practically the reverse of that found in the first category.

In other words, there are more farm laborers in each sample population who report that they live in the same State as that in which they were born, but not the same county, than members of any other tenure class. There are few such croppers, still fewer renters, and fewest owners. These two categories account for the lifetime migration of the large majority of farmers, regardless of tenure class in each sample population, but the contrast is most pronounced in the case of colored farmers.

Among white farmers, both North and South, small fractions of the members of each tenure class report that they live in a State adjoining that in which they were born. This is true of more laborers than of members of other tenure classes, and is true of fewest owners. Southern white renters are more numerous in this category than are Southern white croppers but, nevertheless, they are not so frequent as white laborers.

In the next category, that including those farmers now living in a State other than a State adjoining that of birth, the proportions of owners become relatively more important. Among Southern whites, in fact, there are more owners than members of other tenure classes reporting such extensive moves. In the North there are more such laborers, but the difference between the proportion of laborers and that of owners is very small. Among Negro farmers, owners again, though by a very slight margin, exceed the proportion of laborers reporting such moves.

Those reporting country of birth to be other than the United States are very few, but again it is owners who most frequently report foreign birth and thus, most extensive migration. As was previously pointed out, this category is significant only in the North and is non-existent among Negroes. In summary it may be said that short-distance lifetime movements characterize the migration of most farmers. This stability is greatest in the case of owners, least in the case of laborers, and is intermediate in the case of the other tenure classes, differences between owners and tenants in the North and between owners and renters among Negroes, however, being insignificant (Fig. 25).

Duration of Present Farm Occupancy

Turning now from a consideration of the results of a lifetime's moving and shifting about, let us see what differences exist between the tenure classes with respect to number of years they report having occupied the farm on which they now live. Classifying the responses into four categories of 5 years each (under 5 years, 5-9 years, 10-14 years, and 15-19 years), into one of 10 years (20-29 years), and into

a final indeterminate category (30 years and over), we discover that the percentages of farmers in the lower tenure classes are found rather consistently in the categories showing shorter duration of farm occupancy, while the proportions of owners increase as we proceed to the categories showing longer duration of farm occupancy.

Among Northern farmers the proportions of owners rise consistently as we go from the categories of shorter duration to those of longest duration, practically one-third of all Northern owners reporting that they have lived on the present farm 30 years or over, and one-fourth reporting residence of 20 to 29 years on present farm. Northern tenants, on the other hand, are most numerous in the category showing duration of farm occupancy to be less than 5 years and decline consistently as the number of years of farm occupancy increases. The same is true of Northern laborers, although the proportion in the shortest duration categories is far larger and drops off much more abruptly as we increase the length of time involved.

Among white farmers in the South we find the same general situation, but the non-owning tenure classes show much more similarity with respect to duration of farm occupancy than is true either of Northern non-owners or of Negro non-owners. Around 50 percent of white renters, croppers, and laborers report having lived on their present farm less than 5 years. This proportion is exceeded only by Negro and Northern laborers. Among Southern white owners, as in the North, nearly one-third report having lived on present farm 30 years or more.

Among Negro owners, almost as large a proportion have lived on their present farm 30 years and over as were found in the cases of white owners. Furthermore, there are slightly more owners in the 5-9 year and 10-14 year categories than are found in the 15-19 year category. The same is true among Southern white owners. This fact is to be contrasted with the fact that there are more Northern owners in the 15-19 year category than in any of the others representing duration of occupancy by 5-year periods. In other words, it would appear that if the comparison were to have been continued by 5-year class intervals, instead of class intervals of larger magnitudes, that the largest proportion of Northern owners would be found in a duration-of-farm-occupancy category showing longer residence than the one in which most Southern owners would be found (Table 105).

What is the influence of kinship to landlord with respect to duration of farm occupancy? Among Northern farmers we find considerably more unrelated non-owners in the periods of shortest duration of farm occupancy than related non-owners. Related non-owners, on the other hand, exceed the unrelated in the categories showing residence to be 15 to 19 years or longer. Among Southern farmers, both white and colored, the preponderance of related over unrelated non-owners begins with the next to the shortest category of duration of farm occupancy. In other words, the

Table 105.- Percentages of farmers reporting duration of farm occupancy 1/

Item	Number of years					
	Under	:	:	:	:	30 and
	5	:	5 - 9	10 - 14	15 - 19	20 - 29 : over
Northern						
By tenure:						
Owners	8		10	11	15	25 31
Tenants	39		32	11	9	6 4
Laborers	70		26	3	1	- -
By kinship to landlord:						
Related	36		27	7	9	12 10
Unrelated	48		33	10	6	2 1
Southern white						
By tenure:						
Owners	11		13	14	11	20 31
Renters	48		26	10	5	6 4
Croppers	52		26	11	6	4 1
Laborers	57		23	13	6	2 -
By kinship to landlord:						
Related	31		30	13	12	9 5
Unrelated	55		25	10	4	4 2
Negro						
By tenure:						
Owners	8		15	16	13	21 27
Renters	30		27	19	12	8 5
Croppers	47		32	9	5	5 2
Laborers	64		17	9	6	1 3
By kinship to landlord:						
Related	29		34	16	16	5 -
Unrelated	43		28	13	7	6 3

1/ See Appendix, p. 251, for tenure class totals and kinship category totals by sample population.

relative excess of unrelated over related non-owners in the category "under 5 years" is greater than is found in the North, and is greatest among Southern whites.

One further point is to be noted. Among white related non-owners the largest proportion in any category consists of those showing shortest duration of farm occupancy (under 5 years), whereas among colored related non-owners the largest proportion is found in the next longer category of duration of farm occupancy (5 to 9 years). In other words, colored related

non-owners appear to be the most stable non-owning tenure class, regardless of sample population.

If the comparative youth of the related non-owning tenure classes among Negroes is kept in mind (Table 69, p.107), it will be seen that this conclusion is supported by the figures for median years of duration of present farm occupancy, which are as follows: related renters, Negro, 8.9, Northern, 8.0, Southern white, 6.9; related croppers, Northern, 10.2, Southern white, 8.2, Negro, 6.2; related laborers, Negro, 10.2, Southern white, 8.8, Northern, 4.5.

It is true that we have but few of these cases, but the implications are clear: the relative advantage of staying close to one's kinsfolk in the case of non-owners renting from relatives is greater in the case of Negroes than in the case of whites. A landlord-tenant relationship in which white non-owners rent from colored landlords is generally so inconceivable that the implications of the customary type of bi-racial relationship are lightly passed over by most white people. Accordingly it is significant to find that the Negro non-owner renting from a member of the same race tends to remain in that same location more persistently than do white non-owners renting from members of their own race, and in addition, from kinsfolk.

Distance Covered in Last Reported Move

Having seen how long farmers in the various tenure classes have lived on the places they now call home, our next question is: How far did they move when they came here? Before considering the proportions having moved various distances, however, it is important to note first the proportions who report never having moved in the course of their farming experience.

In each sample population far more owners than members of other tenure classes report never having moved. One-third of Southern white owners, one-fourth of Negro owners and one-fifth of Northern owners have always lived on the place they now occupy. About 17 percent of Negro renters and farm laborers, who, of course, are younger and for whom, therefore, this fact is less significant, report never having moved. Among Northern non-owners, tenants as well as farm laborers, about 14 percent report the same. This is true of about 10 percent of the Southern white renters and croppers, and about 9 percent of the Negro croppers. Only 2 percent of the Southern white laborers, however, are now living on the same place where they began their farming experience. This last category is clearly the least stable tenure class in any of the sample populations, in this respect being very different from farm laborers both among Negroes and among those in the North.

The influence of kinship in this matter is self-evident: a division of non-owners into related and unrelated groups shows the former

Table 106.- Percentages of farmers who report never having moved

Tenure and kinship	:	Total number of cases	:	Percent who have never moved
Northern				
By tenure:				
Owners		355		21
Tenants		263		14
Laborers		69		14
By kinship to landlord:				
Related		86		33
Unrelated		246		8
Southern white				
By tenure:				
Owners		398		32
Renters		275		10
Croppers		168		10
Laborers		53		2
By kinship to landlord:				
Related		105		27
Unrelated		391		5
Negro				
By tenure:				
Owners		128		24
Renters		253		17
Croppers		372		9
Laborers		89		17
By kinship to landlord:				
Related		38		45
Unrelated		676		11

Table 107.- Percentages of farmers whose last move was specified number of miles

Tenure and kinship	:	Total number of cases	:	Percent who moved			
				Number of miles			
				Under 5	5 - 24	25 - 99	100 and over
Northern							
By tenure:							
Owners		355		44	23	5	6
Tenants		263		42	34	7	3
Laborers		69		33	38	7	6
By kinship to landlord:							
Related		86		37	20	9	-
Unrelated		246		41	40	6	4
Southern white							
By tenure:							
Owners		398		35	17	5	9
Renters		275		47	26	6	7
Croppers		168		44	29	10	4
Laborers		53		36	13	26	22
By kinship to landlord:							
Related		105		43	16	5	8
Unrelated		391		45	29	2	8
Negro							
By tenure:							
Owners		128		50	17	6	2
Renters		253		56	16	4	4
Croppers		372		60	24	4	2
Laborers		89		52	22	8	1
By kinship to landlord:							
Related		38		42	5	5	-
Unrelated		676		59	22	4	3

group to be overwhelmingly more stable than the latter. Forty-five percent of Negro non-owners, 33 percent of Northern, and 27 percent of Southern white non-owners renting from kinsfolk have never moved in the course of their farming experience. This is true of about one out of ten unrelated Negro non-owners, about one out of thirteen Northern, and about one out of twenty Southern white unrelated non-owners (Table 106).

Keeping these differences in mind we may now turn to the consideration of the relative frequency of moves of different distances made by members of the various tenure classes. We already have some inkling of the relative preponderance of short moves among all farmers, and especially among colored farmers. With the exception of farm laborers in the North, more members of every tenure class in each sample population covered less than 5 miles in the course of their last move. Among Northern farm laborers the distance involved is more frequently from 5 to 24 miles. This second distance category is second in importance in all tenure classes with the exception of Southern white farm laborers. More members of this tenure class report having moved between 25 and 99, or 100 miles and over, than report having moved between 5 and 24 miles. In this tenure class only are there considerable proportions of individuals for whom the last reported move involves distances of 25 miles or over; thus again is emphasized the migratoriness of the Southern white farm laborer.

Unrelated non-owners move various distances more frequently than do related non-owners. This is due to the fact that larger proportions of the related non-owners have moved not at all. In each sample population moves of over 5 miles are most numerous, with those of 5 to 24 miles next most numerous. Unrelated Northern non-owners, however, are more likely to move longer distances than are unrelated Negro non-owners (Table 107).

Measures of Frequency and Distance

In this final section we shall consider tenure differences with respect to the frequency of moving and the distances involved. The first question is, how do the members of the various tenure classes compare with respect to the total number of times they have moved? In each sample population the proportion of owners decreases as the total number of moves involved increases. In each sample population there are relatively more members of the non-owning classes who report having moved 5 times or any number over 5 than is true in the case of owners. Among these non-owning classes in the South the largest proportion reporting 9 or more moves is to be found among croppers, whereas in the North this is true of laborers. The largest proportions of white Southern renters, croppers, and laborers fall in the category of 2 moves, but among Negro farmers there are slightly more who report 3 moves than those who report any other number (Table 108).

Table 108.- Percentages of farmers who report having moved specified number of times

Item	Percentage moving specific number of times									
	: 0	: 1	: 2	: 3	: 4	: 5	: 6	: 7	: 8	: 9
Northern										
By tenure:										
Owners	21	19	21	13	9	7	3	2	1	3
Tenants	14	13	15	15	12	6	4	4	6	11
Laborers	14	9	4	16	12	10	7	4	9	14
By kinship to landlord:										
Related	33	16	19	15	9	1	-	1	3	2
Unrelated	8	10	11	15	13	8	7	5	8	15
Southern white										
By tenure:										
Owners	32	28	17	9	7	2	1	1	-	2
Renters	11	13	16	13	12	8	5	6	3	8
Croppers	9	18	22	11	9	9	7	2	2	9
Laborers	2	23	26	17	4	9	4	4	6	6
By kinship to landlord:										
Related	27	24	22	7	5	3	7	2	2	3
Unrelated	5	16	19	14	12	10	5	6	3	10
Negro										
By tenure:										
Owners	12	16	26	18	18	5	2	1	1	1
Renters	11	14	15	18	16	11	6	4	3	2
Croppers	6	16	15	16	11	10	8	5	4	9
Laborers	10	19	23	12	8	3	8	7	2	8
By kinship to landlord:										
Related	37	34	13	10	3	3		-	-	-
Unrelated	7	15	16	17	13	10	8	5	3	7

Table 109.- Percentages of farmers who report having moved, by total distance moved, tenure and kinship

Item	:Total number:	Percentage moving specific number of miles							
	: of cases	:Under 5:	5-9 :	10-24 :	25-49 :	50-99 :	100-199 :	200-499 :	500 and over
Northern									
By tenure:									
Owners	277	27	12	22	13	5	2	6	13
Tenants	225	11	13	20	15	16	7	5	15
Laborers	58	7	5	10	19	7	12	19	21
By kinship to landlord:									
Related	57	19	12	23	18	12	7	4	5
Unrelated	226	8	11	16	15	14	8	9	19
Southern white									
By tenure:									
Owners	267	31	14	20	11	5	4	5	10
Renters	241	18	10	22	12	11	6	9	13
Croppers	145	16	16	20	14	10	7	10	8
Laborers	52	4	14	14	14	10	14	17	15
By kinship to landlord:									
Related	75	36	15	17	8	8	4	1	11
Unrelated	363	11	11	21	14	11	8	12	12
Negro									
By tenure:									
Owners	96	26	19	28	9	6	4	4	3
Renters	210	29	16	19	11	6	8	7	5
Croppers	338	28	16	22	10	9	7	4	4
Laborers	74	23	14	24	19	5	10	3	3
By kinship to landlord:									
Related	20	60	20	5	10	-	5	-	-
Unrelated	602	26	16	22	12	8	8	5	4

In each sample population unrelated non-owners are relatively more frequent in the categories representing the larger number of moves, whereas related non-owners preponderate in those representing the smaller number of moves. These figures are suggestive of the frequency with which is enacted the poignant drama of the migrant, who, not finding what he wants in his present location, pulls up his stakes and moves on to a new location which he hopes will yield him a more abundant life.

The second measure to be considered involves the total distance moved by farmers of various tenure classes. Here again the white laborer is outstanding for the distance he covers in the course of a short lifetime. Negro farm laborers, on the other hand, either are characterized by no such powerful wanderlust, or if the spirit urges them they are not in a position to comply. Contrasted with the large total distances moved by white laborers are the small total distances reported by owners (Table 109).

Related non-owners report small total distances moved more frequently than do unrelated non-owners, and conversely, unrelated exceed related non-owners in the categories involving large total distances moved.

Chapter VII

GROUP LIFE IN THE COUNTRY: WHAT DOES IT CONSIST OF? 28/

By Way of Introduction

Many factors influence the appearance of what may broadly be termed a social group. If you think of Main Street back in the home town as it was on Saturday afternoons and evenings, you will recall the little knots or clusters of farmers leaning against store-fronts, standing on street corners, talking about this and that; other clusters consisted of the farmers' wives who, holding the younger children, were likewise exchanging news and views. The whole formed a series of constantly changing group patterns.

If you sauntered close to one of these little knots of farmers you probably heard frequent references to particular neighborhoods in the vicinity of the trade center. You may have noticed that kinship often drew these good people together. You were not so likely, for instance, to find farmers living 5 miles east of town regularly fraternizing with those who lived 5 miles west of town, unless some such tie as kinship, previous connection, or common membership in some organization was involved. These groups we have been thinking about, however, represent only one type of group life. Other types, more substantial, are probably more significant and to these we may now turn.

All social groups may be divided into two types. The first are those to which one belongs or for which one becomes qualified through no particular choice or effort on his own part. These are the groups which are entered primarily by birth, such as the family, sex groups, race groups, and so on. There are other groups which one joins because of particular interests. Those of the latter type usually comprise a definite, limited membership, have officers, may require payment of membership fees, and probably have a set of rules and by-laws to govern procedure.

The difference, in other words, is that some groupings are informally organized, having no hierarchy of officers and members, while other groups do have a clear-cut, organized structure. The first type we may call informally organized groups, and the latter formally organized groups.

The formally organized group, as has been pointed out, is likely to be centered around some definite interest, which may have been crys-

28/ All data in this chapter are based on the long-schedule sample populations.

tallized in a statement of purposes or objectives. At any rate, such a group usually does not concern itself with a widespread range of activities. For example, one type of organization to which the farmer belongs, which we shall call the occupational type, may look after his interests as a good farmer. It may serve to focus interest in improving certain types of livestock or increasing the yield of a particular crop, or retarding the spread of some pest. Again, the farmer may belong to an organization that looks after his interest as a moral person, or as an immortal soul, concerned with eternal salvation; this we may call the religious type of organization. And so on we could go almost without end, if we wished to analyze the types of interests into small units. But other groups have, instead of a single unifying interest, many bonds of compelling common interest.

Just as the cables which support the Golden Gate Bridge are incomparably stronger when woven together than are the separate wires which go to make up these cables, so the ties which bind together a group having many things in common are much more significant, much stronger in influencing the behavior of a member of that group, than is the single bond of a special interest group.

A third distinction may be made, that is, between groups of the type one sees clustering quickly around any accident or strange sight in the city, on the one hand, and those, on the other hand, which represent a deep and abiding sharing of interest. No stronger than cobwebs are the bonds of common interest which may briefly hold together in a compact surrounding group the people who happen to witness an accident. But a group that, for whatever reason, is held together through any considerable period of time tends to develop living, growing threads which constantly gain in strength and tenacity.

The point of the foregoing discussion is this: the family is the elemental, the basic, the dominant group in the lives of most people; it is informally organized, although there may be a sort of hierarchy within the family; a multitude of interests binds its members together; and, finally, of all groups to which a person may belong, it probably most fully survives the test of time. For a number of reasons this primacy of the family seems to be more fundamental and more far-reaching among farmers than it is among city folk.

It is possible that conditions on the farm may change so radically that farm families will become less divergent from urban families in this respect than they have been in the past, but even today, in spite of much urban influence on the country, we must first consider of all group life in the country, the group life of the family.

Informal Social Participation

An important part of social life among farm families consists of "visiting" or chatting together with friends and relatives; less frequent, but no less significant, is entertaining and being entertained for meals.

In obtaining information regarding these types of contact, the procedure was as follows: we asked for the names of the five families with whom the informant's family had the most contact. Then we inquired about the frequency during the past year that members of the informant's family visited each of these other families, were visited by members of these other families, entertained for meals, and were entertained for meals.

Tenants report a higher average number of visits made, and visitors received, than do owners. A marked difference appears between Southern white laborers and laborers in the other two sample populations, however, for in the North and among Negroes they report a much smaller average number of contacts of this type than any other tenure class. Among Southern whites they report by far the largest figure. As was pointed out earlier, the average frequency of contacts of this type is considerably greater among Southern whites than among either Negroes or Northern farmers (Table 110).

With respect to the exchanging of labor and tools, the most marked tenure-class differences are found among Negro farmers: owners report such exchange on the average practically four times as often as croppers, three times as often as laborers, and two times as often as renters. Among Southern whites the most frequent exchange of this type is found among croppers, which is just the opposite of the situation among Negroes. White laborers in the South report such exchange most rarely, renters somewhat more often, and owners with most nearly the frequency reported by croppers. In the North, again, laborers report such exchange much more rarely than the upper tenure classes. Contrasting with the South, however, there is little difference between the frequencies reported by owners and tenants.

If this sort of economic cooperation means anything at all, it is clear that the tenure classes in the three sample populations hold entirely different positions. The Negro owner is in a position both to extend and receive aid, and does so on the average more frequently than any other tenure class in any of the sample populations. The white laborer in the South, on the other hand, is so little free in this respect, or else is so little cooperatively inclined, that he participates in such exchange less often than any other tenure class in any of the sample populations. The Northern laborer in comparison is by no means so far removed from that of the higher tenure classes living around him (Table 110).

Table 110.- Average number of times that specified types of inter-family contact are reported as having taken place during the past year

Item	: Owners	: Renters	: Croppers	: Laborers
Northern				
Visiting:				
Informant visited	24.8		26.5 <u>1/</u>	13.8
Informant was visited	21.2		21.9	7.0
Exchanging meals:				
Informant was guest	5.6		6.5	2.3
Informant received guest	6.1		7.2	4.2
Exchanging tools and labor with friends or relatives	5.4		5.6	2.2
Southern white				
Visiting:				
Informant visited	42.0	43.6	57.6	70.4
Informant was visited	45.8	42.4	51.9	67.0
Exchanging meals:				
Informant was guest	4.5	4.9	6.3	3.5
Informant received guest	4.3	5.2	7.6	10.8
Exchanging tools and labor with friends or relatives	2.3	.8	2.9	.2
Negro				
Visiting:				
Informant visited	27.9	34.3	40.4	22.3
Informant was visited	26.7	31.3	33.1	18.3
Exchanging meals:				
Informant was guest	5.9	6.8	6.5	2.6
Informant received guest	6.3	6.3	6.5	2.9
Exchanging tools and labor with friends or relatives	6.0	2.7	1.6	1.8

1/ Figures for Northern croppers included with those for renters.

Since, throughout this study, the influence of non-owners' kinship to landlord has been considered, let us now see the nature of this influence with respect to informal social relations. Related non-owners in the North both visit, and are visited by, their acquaintances more frequently than is the case with unrelated non-owners. The difference between these categories of non-owners is more pronounced, however, in the matter of visiting others than in receiving visitors, the related group reporting the higher figure.

Among Southern whites there is an entirely different situation. Unrelated non-owners report visiting and being visited with practically the same frequency. Related non-owners, on the other hand, report visiting their friends and relatives on the average much more frequently than they are visited. In fact, this difference is so great that families of unrelated non-owners receive friends and relatives even more frequently than do those of related non-owners.

Regarding Negro farm families, conditions are more nearly comparable to those among Northern than among Southern whites: both related and unrelated non-owners report making visits more often than they report being visited, but the former figure, and the disparity between the two, is much greater in the case of related non-owners (Table 111).

Considering hospitality involving entertainment for meals, we find that the differences between related and unrelated non-owners in the North are reversed: unrelated non-owners both entertain and are entertained for meals much more frequently than related non-owners. The opposite is true regarding colored non-owners, for among Negroes related non-owners both entertain and are entertained for meals much more frequently than unrelated non-owners. Furthermore, related non-owners are entertained about twice as often as they entertain, while among unrelated non-owners, as is true of both Negroes and whites, the figure for entertaining and being entertained at meals is practically the same. Among Southern white related non-owners, as among Negroes, but not to so marked an extent, hospitality involving meals is accepted from others more frequently than it is extended.

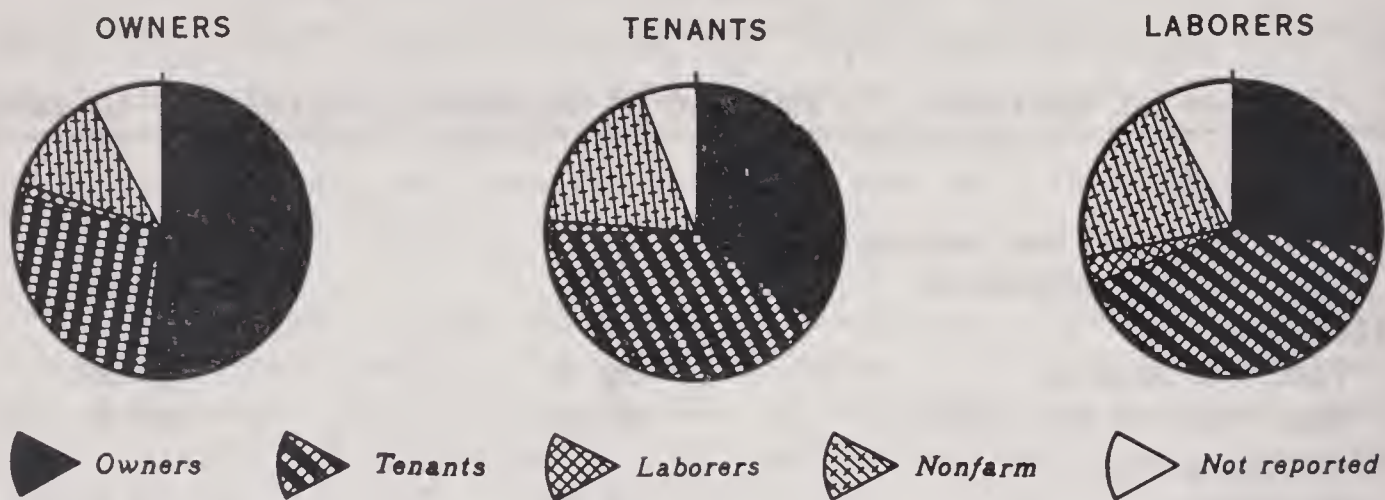
These differences between the relative frequencies that guest and host roles are played by related and non-related non-owners in North and South are possibly as significant as any we shall find: in the North the related non-owner more frequently acts as host for meals than he plays the part of guest, but in the South he is guest more frequently than he is host.

We have already seen the predominance of kinsfolk among those with whom meals are exchanged, and, therefore, we may assume that this greater frequency of host or guest relationship to a large extent involves kinsfolk. It would seem, therefore, that the relatives of non-owners in the North deem it an honor to be entertained by their non-owning kinsfolk,

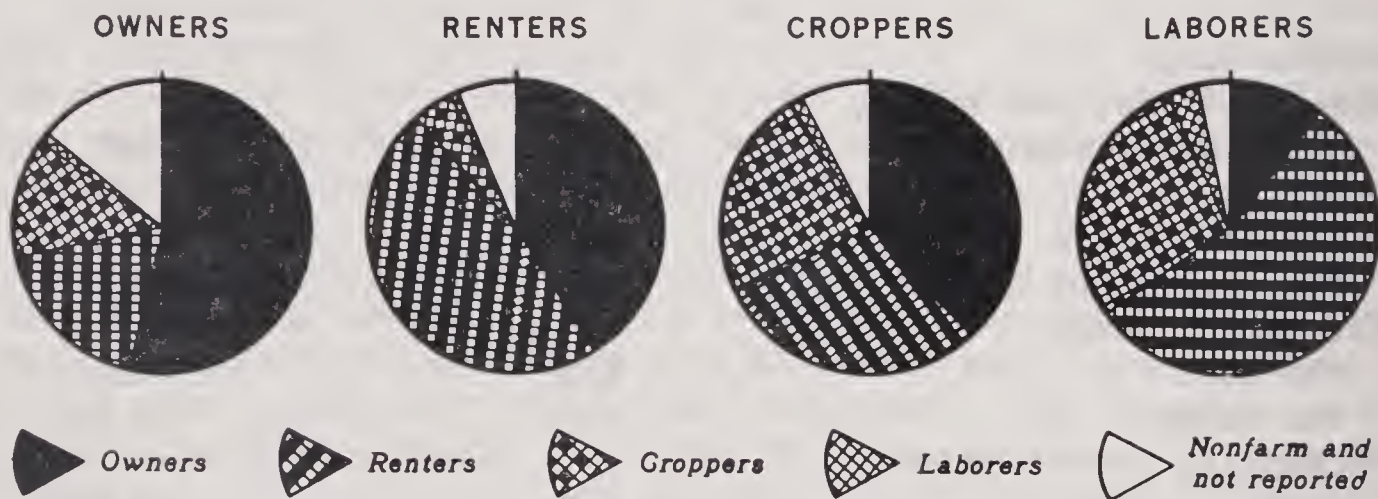
Table 111.- Average number of times that specified types of inter-family contact took place among non-owners during past year

Types of contact	: Related to landlord	: Unrelated to landlord
Northern		
Number of families making inter-family contacts	79	289
Visiting:		
Visited others	29.0	22.9
Was visited by others	20.2	19.8
Exchanging meals:		
Was host	4.6	6.1
Was guest	3.2	6.6
Exchanging labor and/or tools	4.6	5.9
Southern white		
Number of families making inter-family contacts	57	287
Visiting:		
Visited others	52.1	49.2
Was visited by others	41.0	48.2
Exchanging meals:		
Was host	5.2	5.1
Was guest	7.7	6.1
Exchanging labor and/or tools	1.1	1.6
Negro		
Number of families making inter-family contacts	35	623
Visiting:		
Visited others	40.9	35.7
Was visited by others	31.8	30.4
Exchanging meals:		
Was host	8.7	5.9
Was guest	15.7	6.0
Exchanging labor and/or tools	5.0	1.8

NORTHERN



SOUTHERN WHITE



NEGRO

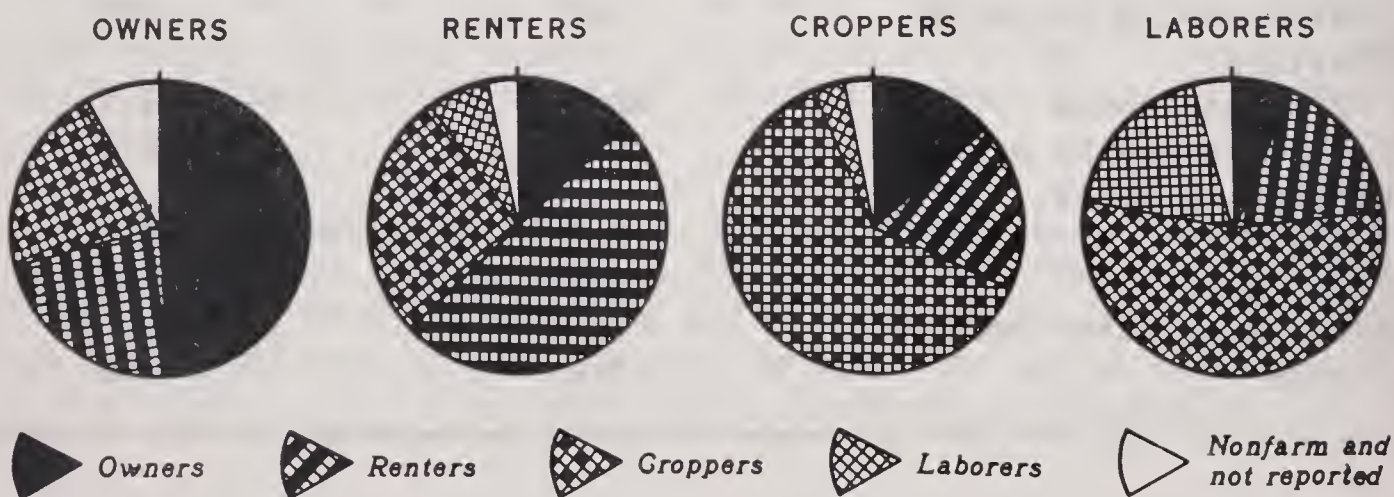


FIGURE 26.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY TENURE OF THE FAMILIES WITH V
INFORMANTS' FAMILIES HAD MOST FREQUENT SOCIAL CONTACT, BY
TENURE OF INFORMANT.

whereas in the South it is the related non-owners who deem it an honor to be entertained by their relatives.

These data suggest, at least, that the dependency relationship between related non-owners in the North and their relatives is in one direction, while in the South it is in the opposite direction. This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that in the South related renters and croppers among both whites and Negroes are younger on the average than are unrelated renters and croppers. This age difference is also present in the North, but to a much slighter degree.

To conclude this comparison of related and unrelated non-owners we may take up the topic of exchanging labor and tools. In the North it is the unrelated group who report the greater average frequency of such exchange. The same is true of Southern whites, but among Negroes such exchange is reported almost three times as often by related non-owners as by those who are not related. If, as has been suggested, the frequency of this type of contact may be regarded as in any way indicative of freedom to act independently, we may say definitely that kinship to landlord or employer proves to be an emancipating relationship in the case of Negro, but not in the case of white, farmers.

The relationships between informal inter-family social participation and the two further factors are next to be considered: first, the tenure class of the families involved; second, kinship or non-kinship to informants of the families named by informants. The influences of these factors are to be taken up from two points of view. In the first place, we want to see the relative frequency with which the families named by our informants (those with whom they have the most contact) fall into one category or another with respect to these factors. In the second place, we want to consider the average frequency of contact when the influences of the two factors are analyzed. In other words, we want to note first the proportion of all families mentioned by informants falling into one category or another; and, in the second place, we shall see how often contact takes place between informants' families and those they listed.

In each sample population owners more often mention owners' families as those with whom they have the most contact than they do families in any other tenure class. The proportion of owners mentioned by owner informants is practically 50 percent in each sample population. The next largest proportion in each sample population is renters, who constitute 27 percent of the families mentioned by owners in the North, 31 percent by Southern white, and 43 percent by colored owners. Laborers are mentioned by owners in not more than 1 percent of all cases (Fig. 26).

Northern tenants and Southern renters mention families in the same tenure class more frequently than those in any other. Forty percent of the families named by Northern tenants are also tenants, while the proportion among Southern whites is 47 percent and among Negroes, 50 percent.

Among white families, both North and South, the tenure class mentioned next most frequently is that of owners; but among Negro families, renters mention croppers most frequently after owners. 29/

Families mentioned by Negro croppers in almost two-thirds of all cases are also croppers, whereas Southern white croppers mention families in the same tenure class in only 23 percent of all cases. More frequently than croppers they mention owners (38 percent), and also renters (30 percent). Negro croppers mention owners in only 13 percent and renters in only 18 percent of all cases.

Laborers in the North and among Southern whites mention renters' families most frequently, but Northern laborers mention owners relatively more frequently (27 percent) than do Southern white laborers (10 percent). Negro laborers mention croppers far more often than they name families in any other tenure class (55 percent). They mention other laborers' families relatively more often than do the members of any other tenure class in any of the same populations (18 percent).

It may be pointed out, finally, that non-farm families are mentioned with considerable frequency, regardless of tenure class, in the North, the proportion being 12 percent among owners, 18 percent among tenants, and 20 percent among laborers. In the South the highest proportion of non-farm families is mentioned by white owners (11 percent) and Negro owners (8 percent), the proportions being lower in all other tenure classes. In brief, we may say that in seven out of eleven comparisons informants mention other families occupying the same tenure status with the greatest frequency. In the remaining four instances informants mention members of higher tenure classes with greater frequency than those of the same tenure class. These are Northern laborers, Southern white croppers and laborers, and colored laborers. It is possible that one reason for these exceptions lies in the greater difficulties experienced by laborers in getting from place to place - in the inadequacy, that is, of their transportation facilities (Fig. 26).

Keeping in mind this background material, which in itself is of significance in showing the operation of tenure class as a factor for promoting contact within the class and as a barrier preventing contact across tenure class lines, we may take up now the analysis of the frequencies with which contacts of various types take place between the various tenure class combinations.

29/ Tenant families in the North as in many other instances throughout the study will be compared here with renter families in the South, both because croppers in the North are very few and because Northern croppers seem more comparable to renters, Northern as well as Southern, than to Northern laborers or Southern croppers or laborers.

The average frequency with which informants report visiting other families and being visited by other families, as was pointed out, is much greater among Southern whites than among either Negroes or Northern whites, but marked differences appear when Southern whites are separated into the several tenure classes. Southern white owners visit and are visited by non-farm families, on the average, more frequently than they visit or are visited by farm families of any tenure class. In view of the small number of instances when owners' families reported visiting laborers' families, the high average frequency is thought to be misleading and is not considered so significant as the averages with respect to other tenure classes or to non-farm families.

Furthermore, Southern white owner informants have relatively the smallest average frequency of contact of this type with other owners' families. Southern white tenants' families report visiting and being visited by owners and tenants with about the same average frequencies, these amounting to slightly under once a week throughout the year. The frequency with which tenants visit non-farm families is almost three times the average with which they are visited by non-farm families. In other words, the direction of the social current in this case seems to be from country to town or city. Southern white laborers report visiting and being visited by tenants, on the average, much more frequently than any other category (Table 112).

Among Negro families, owners report an average frequency of visiting other owners and tenants in about the same amounts. The number of cases of owner contact with farm laborers and with non-farm families is so small that the averages may not be relied on. Negro owners' families, on the other hand, are visited by tenants considerably more often than they are visited by other owners. Negro tenants report visiting and being visited by other tenants more frequently than other tenure classes. They visit laborers' families next most often, on the average, and owners somewhat less often. They are visited by owners somewhat less often than by tenants, and still less often by laborers. Negro laborers' families report visiting most frequently in the homes of owners, but they are visited by owners relatively least often. The frequency of exchange with other laborers' families is about the same when they are visited and when visiting. This is also true with respect to frequency of contact of Negro laborers with Negro tenants, except the figure is much lower in this case (Table 112).

Turning to the North, we find, as among Southern whites, that owners have highest average frequency of contact with non-farm families, so far as visiting other families is concerned, and again they visit other owners' families relatively less often than they visit tenants' families. 30/ Northern owners are visited, on the other hand, with the greatest

30/ Relative infrequency of laborers' families mentioned by owners again makes the high average contact less significant.

Table 112.- Average number of times that specified types of inter-family contact are reported as having taken place during the past year by tenure class

Type of contact and informant's tenure class	Tenure class of other family							
	Owners		Tenants		Laborers		Non-farm	
	Total	Average	Total	Average	Total	Average	Total	Average
Northern -								
Visiting:								
Visited other family:								
Owners	159	21.9	84	24.4	5	71.8	37	34.8
Tenants	106	30.6	120	26.9	3	25.3	55	19.5
Laborers	19	15.0	28	9.5	1	25.0	13	11.1
Visited by other family:								
Owners	159	17.1	84	25.5	5	52.6	37	21.6
Tenants	106	25.2	120	22.1	3	19.3	55	16.7
Laborers	19	11.5	28	10.6	1	-	13	19.1
Exchanging meals:								
Was guest:								
Owners	159	5.3	84	7.1	5	5.0	37	7.0
Tenants	106	6.1	120	7.3	3	7.0	55	6.4
Laborers	19	3.9	28	3.2	1	25.0	13	5.2
Was host:								
Owners	159	4.0	84	6.7	5	7.6	37	6.9
Tenants	106	4.9	120	6.1	3	7.0	55	8.4
Laborers	19	0.8	28	2.6	1	-	13	4.1
Southern white -								
Visiting:								
Visited other family:								
Owners	123	31.2	73	53.3	3	134.0	25	58.2
Tenants	117	49.7	173	48.3	2	11.0	18	36.4
Laborers	3	14.7	24	82.3	1	20.0	1	3.0
Visited by other family:								
Owners	123	30.2	73	60.5	3	55.0	25	83.6
Tenants	117	45.8	173	49.5	2	10.0	18	13.7
Laborers	3	11.0	24	78.5	1	23.0	1	2.0
Exchanging meals:								
Was guest:								
Owners	123	3.0	73	2.8	3	37.3	25	11.6
Tenants	117	6.4	173	6.2	2	2.5	18	1.9
Laborers	3	1.3	24	12.7	1	7.0	1	-
Was host:								
Owners	123	3.1	73	2.6	3	34.3	25	8.6
Tenants	117	5.5	173	5.6	2	1.0	18	1.2
Laborers	3	1.3	24	3.6	1	11.0	1	-
Negro:-								
Visiting:								
Visited other family:								
Owners	82	24.5	73	27.7	1	3.0	2	181.0
Tenants	74	29.4	445	38.2	27	34.7	3	11.6
Laborers	6	43.4	69	17.8	16	29.7	-	-
Visited by other family:								
Owners	82	21.5	73	30.6	1	20.0	2	181.0
Tenants	74	27.1	445	32.0	27	19.8	3	13.3
Laborers	6	8.8	69	15.4	16	28.4	-	-
Exchanging meals:								
Was guest:								
Owners	82	5.8	73	6.7	1	-	2	4.5
Tenants	74	2.8	445	6.9	27	14.5	3	11.0
Laborers	6	3.8	69	2.5	16	2.6	-	-
Was host:								
Owners	82	3.6	73	8.8	1	-	2	11.0
Tenants	74	2.2	445	6.9	27	15.4	3	9.7
Laborers	6	2.8	69	2.0	16	3.2	-	-

average frequency by tenants' families, and least often by other owners' families. Northern tenants report both visiting and being visited most often by owners, other tenants somewhat less often, and non-farm families least often (Table 112).

The information with respect to frequencies of exchanging meals shows some rather interesting differences between the various types of tenure combinations. Among Southern white families owners report being guests for meals at the homes of non-farm families about three times as often as in the homes either of other owners or of tenants. The same tendency, though not quite to so marked a degree, is present in the case of their having members of other families for meals. Tenants in the same sample population report practically the same average frequency for entertaining owners and other tenants' families, and likewise report the same frequency of being guests for meals at the homes of owners and of other tenants. But the average frequency for playing the part of guest is considerably somewhat higher than the average frequency for playing the part of host. Southern white laborers are guests for meals about three times as often in the homes of tenants as they have tenants for meals at their own homes. The frequency of contact with members of other tenure classes is too small to justify further comparisons (Table 112).

Among Negro families, owners both entertain and are entertained by other owners' families for meals considerably more often on the average than either tenants or laborers. Tenants, on the other hand, report both the giving and receiving of meals more frequently in connection with laborers' families than with those in any other tenure class, the lowest frequency being in connection with owners' families, and the frequency with other tenants' families being about midway between. Laborers' families, although the number of cases is small, report being guests for meals on the average most often at the homes of owners, while they are guests at the homes of tenants and other laborers with about the same average frequency. When it comes to entertaining other families for meals, laborers act in the capacity of host most often to other laborers, somewhat less often to owners, and least often to tenants (Table 112).

In the North owners exchange meals least often on the average with other owners, and considerably more often with tenants and with non-farm families. Northern tenants are guests for meals most often in the homes of other tenants, somewhat less often in the homes of non-farm families, and least often in the homes of owners, though the range involved is small. They have non-farm families for meals most often, other tenants considerably less often, and owners least often, although the difference between the frequency of entertaining tenants and owners is only slight. It is probably important to note, however, that the Northern tenant entertains the non-farm family on the average with considerably greater frequency than he is entertained by the non-farm family. This is not true except with respect to insignificant numbers of cases in any other tenure class or sample population comparison.

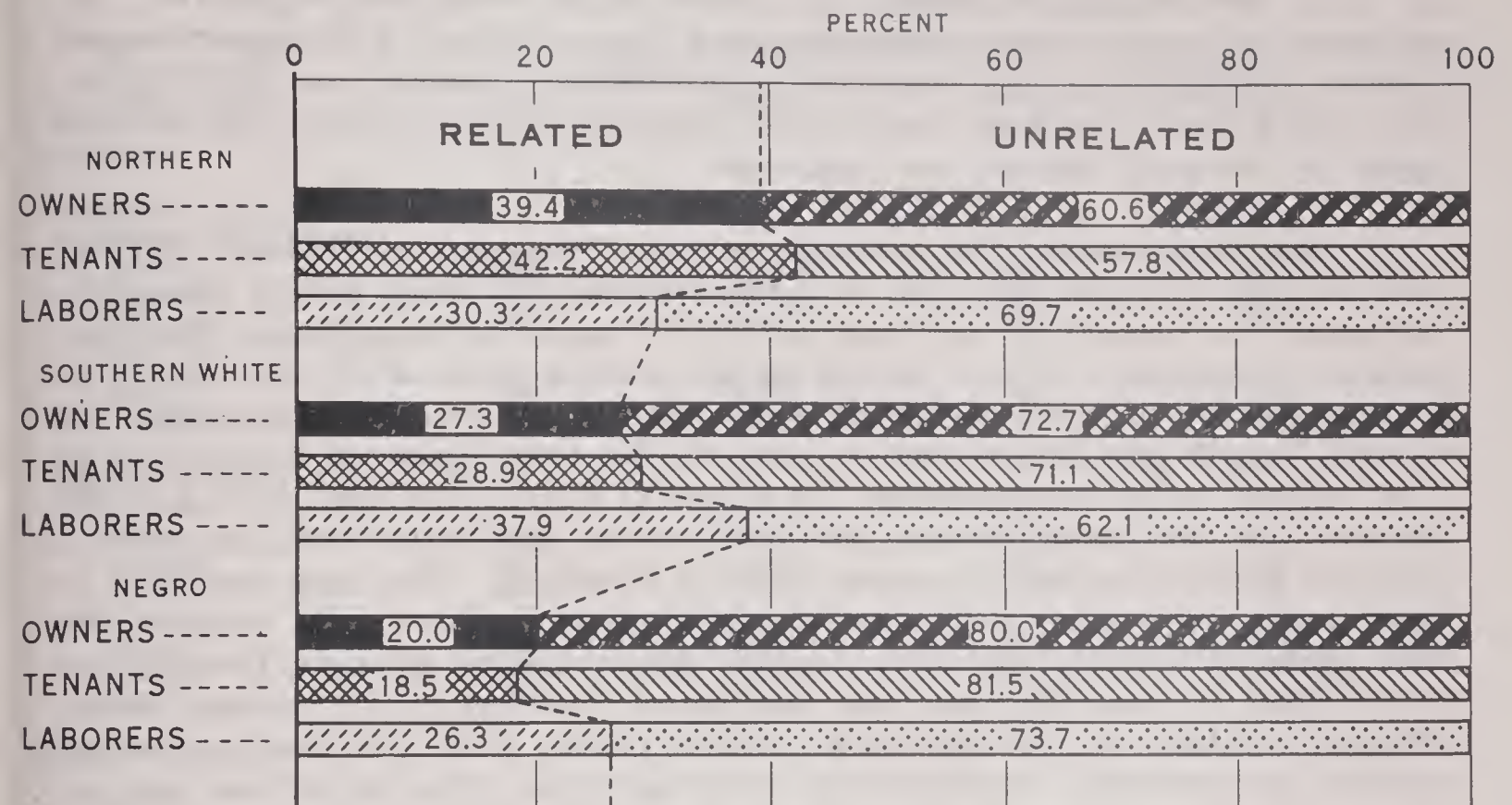
In this case the direction of the social current is definitely from city or town to country. Northern farm laborers are guests for meals most often at non-farm homes; they are guests with somewhat less frequency in the homes of owners, and still less frequently in the homes of tenants. They act as hosts most often to non-farm families considerably less often to tenants', and much less often to owners', families. In each comparison laborers act as guests on the average more frequently than as hosts, as is generally the case in all tenure classes, with the exception of Negro owners who entertain tenants for meals considerably more often than they are entertained by tenants (Table 112).

To summarize this involved and detailed material we may say that owners' contacts with non-farm families with very few exceptions are more frequent than with farm families of other tenure classes. Furthermore the frequency of owners' contacts with non-farm families is on the average much greater than that reported by families in other tenure classes, the sole exception being found in the case of Northern tenants who entertain non-farm families for meals on the average more frequently than do owners. Country cooking, at least in the North, seems to have a strong appeal. Tenants' families report informal contact with very much the same average frequency, both in connection with other tenants' families and with owners' families in all three sample populations, and in all four types of informal contact under consideration. 31/ The main exception is that Negro tenants exchange meals with other tenant families much more frequently than they do with Negro owners' families. Laborers' families, except in the North, report practically no contact with non-farm families, and even in the North they report more exchange of visiting with other farm than with non-farm families. However, they report more frequently exchanging meals with non-farm families than they do with other tenure classes of farm families.

It may seem that we have found here very little wheat in a great deal of chaff, but these few grains are valuable. Possibly the most significant finding is that Northern tenants are visited for meals by non-farm families more frequently than they visit these same non-farm families for meals. Southern tenants not only have non-farm families for meals less often than they are entertained by them, but this type of contact represents relatively a much smaller proportion of all their contacts than is true in the North. The Northern tenant not only has non-farm friends relatively more often than does the Southern tenant, but also he is apparently at no disadvantage socially in comparison with these non-farm friends.

Among all families mentioned by our informants as those with whom they had most frequent contact during the past year, what proportion are

31/ Visiting other family, being visited by other family, entertaining other family for meals, being entertained by other family for meals.



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FIGURE 27.- PERCENTAGES OF RELATIVES AND NON-RELATIVES AMONG ALL FAMILIES WITH WHOM INFORMANTS' FAMILIES HAD MOST FREQUENT CONTACT, BY TENURE OF INFORMANT.

relatives and what proportion are unrelated? The largest proportion of relatives is found among families mentioned by Northern tenants (42 percent). The proportion is almost as high, however, among Northern owners (39 percent), while among Northern laborers it is about three-fourths as large as in the higher tenure classes (30 percent). In the South the largest proportion of relatives is mentioned by white laborers, among whom the percentage is even higher than that for Northern laborers (38 percent). (See Fig. 27.)

In this comparison we find the South showing exactly the opposite situation from that found in the North, for the proportion of relatives mentioned by both owners and tenants is less than the proportion mentioned by laborers, both among Negroes and whites.

In other words, the proportion of relatives mentioned by Southern white owners (27 percent) and tenants (29 percent) is only about three-fourths as high as that mentioned by laborers (38 percent). Among Negroes, although the proportion of relatives mentioned is smaller in each tenure class than among Southern whites, practically the same excess percentage of relatives mentioned by laborers over that mentioned by owners and

tenants remains. The percentages are: laborers, 26; owners, 20; renters, 19 (Fig. 27). Again keeping in mind this relatively greater importance of contact with kinsfolk among laborers than with upper tenure classes in the South, and with the upper tenure classes than with laborers in the North, we may take up the frequencies with which the various types of informal contact are reported.

One might expect the greatest average frequency of contact, both of visiting and of being visited, of entertaining for meals and of being entertained for meals, to be reported with regard to kinsfolk. This expectation, however, is not upheld by all tenure classes in our data. It is true almost without exception with respect to tenants' families, for in each sample population and in each of the four types of comparison we find contact to be considerably the greatest with relatives, with the exception that Northern tenants are visited by unrelated families with a slightly higher average frequency than by kinsfolk. The same tendency is found among owners but with some significant exceptions. In each of the four types of contact Northern owners report higher average frequencies in the case of kinsfolk than when unrelated families are involved. Among Southern whites, on the contrary, owners report both visiting and being visited by unrelated families over half again as often as in the case of related families. Among Negroes, relatives consistently receive greater contact so far as owners' families are concerned than do unrelated families, but the differences in the case of visiting are so small as to be insignificant.

Laborers' data conflict with the popular notion most frequently. Southern white laborers in three types of contact out of four report a much higher average frequency of contact with unrelated families than with relatives, and even in the fourth type the difference, though in the opposite direction, is very slight. Likewise among Negro laborers, visiting of unrelated families is reported as taking place on the average more frequently than visiting of related families. So far as laborers are concerned, the only significantly greater frequency of contact with relatives is found among Negroes when the exchanging of meals is considered. Here we find laborers both entertaining relatives and being entertained by relatives for meals more often than when unrelated families are involved.

We may say then, in summarizing this material, that the greatest confirmation of the popular notion is to be found with respect to the exchanging of meals. In this type of contact, in all three sample populations and for each of the three tenure classes compared, the preponderance of contact with relatives, with only one exception, is large and apparently significant. The one exception is found in the case of Southern white laborers who report being entertained for meals in the homes of unrelated friends about three times as often as in the homes of relatives. The uniqueness of the situation of this tenure class is further borne out by the fact that the difference between the frequencies with which its members entertain relatives and non-relatives is smaller than is true of any other tenure class in any of the sample populations (Table 113).

Table 113.- Average number of times that specified types of inter-family contact are reported as having taken place during the past year with related and unrelated families

Type of contact and informant's tenure class	Kinship to other family			
	Related		Unrelated	
	Total	Average	Total	Average
Northern -				
Visiting:				
Visited other family:				
Owners	119	34.5	183	18.9
Tenants	127	29.5	174	24.5
Laborers	20	15.9	46	12.9
Visited by other family:				
Owners	119	27.4	183	17.7
Tenants	127	21.8	174	2.2
Laborers	20	6.9	46	2.9
Exchanging meals:				
Was guest:				
Owners	119	10.7	183	3.3
Tenants	127	12.0	174	3.8
Laborers	20	6.9	46	2.9
Was host:				
Owners	119	10.0	183	22.8
Tenants	127	10.7	174	3.6
Laborers	20	5.0	46	1.2
Southern white -				
Visiting:				
Visited other family:				
Owners	63	31.3	168	46.0
Tenants	90	66.1	221	40.3
Laborers	11	31.4	18	94.3
Visited by other family:				
Owners	63	32.4	168	50.8
Tenants	90	54.5	221	41.5
Laborers	11	31.4	18	88.7
Exchanging meals:				
Was guest:				
Owners	63	7.1	168	3.8
Tenants	90	13.3	221	3.0
Laborers	11	4.6	18	14.7
Was host:				
Owners	63	6.4	168	1.6
Tenants	90	10.9	221	2.7
Laborers	11	3.8	18	3.3
Negro -				
Visiting:				
Visited other family:				
Owners	34	31.2	135	27.2
Tenants	104	52.2	456	35.3
Laborers	25	19.0	69	23.8
Visited by other family:				
Owners	34	27.3	135	26.8
Tenants	104	36.2	456	31.9
Laborers	25	14.6	69	20.0
Exchanging meals:				
Was guest:				
Owners	34	14.3	135	4.3
Tenants	104	18.2	456	4.0
Laborers	25	5.2	69	2.1
Was host:				
Owners	34	13.0	135	4.2
Tenants	104	8.3	456	6.3
Laborers	25	4.9	69	1.9

One further point should be brought out. Only Negro informants reported having informal contacts with families of another race. Altogether, only five instances of such a relationship were reported by Negroes, and each of these consisted of the colored family visiting the white family. In other words, although this type of contact as reported by our informants represents an insignificant fraction of all informal inter-family contact, it is significant of the existing social relationships. In the first place, the Negro families involved in these inter-family contacts, without question being regarded by white people as their inferiors, are permitted by custom to visit friendly members of the superior white class. But no instances are reported, either by Negroes or by whites, of members of the superior class placing themselves in a position to receive hospitality at the hands of members of the inferior class. Thus we get some slight confirmation of the hypothesis expressed earlier that the receiving of hospitality implies, or at least suggests, a dependency relationship between guest and host.

The second implication, far more fundamental than the first, concerns the inseparability of status relationships from race relationships, and hence the overwhelmingly greater significance in the South of race as compared with tenure class in the determination of social status. This implication, while so commonplace or self-evident as not to require mention to the Southerner, may not be so well known to the Northerner, and particularly to the Northerner with reformist aspirations. It may be that the theorist, speculating at a distance about the Southern sharecroppers, Negro and white, may see no significant difference in their fundamental characteristics; but if, in the face of such evidence as this, he continues to regard the racial factor as subordinate to the economic, in the total complex of factors which explain the social and economic condition of the Negro cropper or laborer, he must be indulging in wishful thinking.

Formally Organized Group Participation

In this section we shall consider, first of all, the relationships between tenure class and total members per family in all organizations; second, between tenure class and a measure of maximum attendance; and third, leadership as indicated by number of offices held in organizations by members of the family. Following this, we shall take up briefly membership in, attendance at, and offices held in, several types of organizations - religious, educational, occupational, economic, and fraternal.

In each sample population the average number of memberships held per family in all organizations is largest among renters, smallest among laborers, with owners' and croppers' families coming somewhere between. Renters' families have almost three times as many memberships on the average in the North as laborers. Among Southern whites this excess is even greater, for the ratio is about four to one. Among Negro families tenure differences are similar but less marked (Table 114).

Table 114.- Average family figures for specified types of participation during the past year in formally organized groups

Item	Owners	Renters	Croppers	Laborers
Northern:				
Average membership per family in all organizations	7.8		8.5 <u>1/</u>	3.3
Average maximum attendance per family in all organizations	79.3		71.5	42.8
Average number of offices held per family in all organizations	.9		.9	.4
Southern white:				
Average membership per family in all organizations	6.2	8.0	6.1	2.2
Average maximum attendance per family in all organizations	65.2	71.8	57.9	22.2
Average number of offices held per family in all organizations	.5	.4	.4	-
Negro:				
Average membership per family in all organizations	6.0	7.3	4.9	3.9
Average maximum attendance per family in all organizations	58.8	60.0	43.7	39.6
Average number of offices held per family in all organizations	.9	.7	.4	.3

1/ Figures for Northern croppers included with those for renters.

Since it is the relative standing of the several tenure classes regarding various matters that we are trying to discover, rather than a precise determination of those matters themselves, we have experimented with a novel measure, "maximum participation." When the interviewer talked with the farmer or his wife about the participation of members of the family in organized groups, one question asked regarding each organization in which membership was held was somewhat as follows: "Which

member of the family attends meetings of this organization most frequently, and how often does this person attend the meetings of this organization?" We were attempting to get an idea of the maximum attendance reported by any member of the family for each organization to which one or more members of the family belonged. Combining these maximum attendances gives what we call the "maximum" attendance figure. Adding these figures for all families within a tenure class and dividing that aggregate by the total number of families in the tenure class, we get an average maximum attendance figure.

When we compare tenure classes with respect to their participation in terms of this measure, we find that owners' families in the North report a higher average than other tenure classes. Renters' families report the highest average among Southern whites, while among Negroes owners and renters report practically the same figure.

Comparing maximum figures in the three sample populations, we find the average for owners in the North to be about 80 per family per year. Among Southern white renters it is about 72 per year, and among Negro owners and renters it is about 60 per year. In other words, just as in the case of number of memberships per family, the average maximum attendance figure is highest among Northern whites, lowest among Negroes, and intermediate among Southern whites. Furthermore, the greater similarity between the maximum figures among Negro families than that appearing among white families in the South is probably significant. Of all the tenure classes compared, the figure reported by Southern white laborers is the lowest, equaling only about one-half that reported by Negro or Northern laborers (Table 114).

The importance of leadership in organized group life is difficult to overestimate. Accordingly, the differences in the contribution of officers by the various tenure classes are significant and worthy of emphasis. The most striking progression appears in the case of Negro families. The relative contributions of officers by families in the various tenure classes are as follows: laborers, 2; croppers, 3; renters, 5; and owners, 6. Among Southern whites no offices are held by laborers' families, and the sequence from smaller to larger leadership contributions is likewise cropper, renter, and owner. In the North, the ratio of offices held by owners' to laborers' families is about 2 to 1, while the contribution of renters' families is the same as that of owners'. Briefly, in each of the three sample populations the leadership contribution by laborers is least, and that by owners is most, and that by renters and croppers comes somewhere between (Table 114).

To simplify tenure class comparisons, we have determined the relative average number of members per family, average maximum attendance, and average number of offices held in the various types of organizations, with the figure for owners in each case as 100 percent. In other words, the figure reported for owners' families is regarded as the base or norm, and that for families in other tenure classes is determined as a per-

centage of the figure for owners. In each of the three sample populations renters report relatively a larger number of memberships than owners, and laborers' families report the fewest. The maximum attendance measure again shows laborers to be consistently lowest. Croppers are next lowest renters in the South exceed, although in the North they do not reach, the figure for owners. Leadership, as represented by offices held, shows the most consistent tenure differences, for in each sample population renters contribute relatively less than owners, croppers less than renters, and laborers the least. Cash contributions to all organizations follow a similarly regular pattern; in each case owners contribute most, renters less, croppers still less, and laborers least. Owners in the South, however, both white and colored, contribute only about one-half as much as do Northern owners and, accordingly, the average cash contribution to all organizations by Northern tenants is much larger than that by Southern owners (Table 115).

Turning now from the question of participation in all types of organizations, let us consider several significant categories of organizations. In each sample population, using the figures for owners' families as the norm, there is an excess number of members of religious organizations in renters' families, while laborers show relatively the fewest number. Among Negroes, croppers' families also show relatively fewer members than do owners' families, but among Southern whites the figure for croppers is slightly larger than that for owners.

Regarding maximum attendance, the largest figure is reported by owners in the North and by renters in the South, the other tenure classes retaining the same relative positions. Leadership as measured by offices held, is again contributed least by laborers, but renters and croppers exceed owners relatively among the Southern whites, while tenants contribute practically the same amount of officers as do owners in the North. Cash contributions reveal a regular tenure sequence, owners contributing most, renters somewhat less, croppers still less, and laborers least. But it is interesting that the relative contribution of Negro laborers is six times that of Southern white laborers. Furthermore, the contribution of Negro croppers is on the average practically identical with that of white croppers, while Negro renters contribute even more on the average than do white renters in the South. (See Table 115; also Table 116, p.213.)

Occupational organizations in the South show tenure differences which are strikingly different from those appearing in religious organizations. Renters contribute practically twice as many members to organizations of this type as do owners among white farmers, and two and one-half times as many as owners among Negro farmers. In the North the contribution of owners and tenants to occupational organizations are just on a par. Northern laborers contribute about one-third as many members as do either owners or tenants, while in the South, among both Negroes and whites, they contribute none whatever. The same is true of Negro croppers, while white croppers contribute about four-fifths as many as owners' families.

Table 115.- Average participation of non-owner families in formally organized groups, expressed as percentages of figures for owners' families

Item	:Grand: :total:	:Religious:	:Educa- :tional:	:Occupa- :tional:	:Economic:	:Fraternal:
Northern:						
Maximum attendance:						
Owners	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Tenants	90.2	88.8	92.6	59.9	47.0	118.7
Laborers	54.0	66.9	16.2	88.7	-	-
Total members:						
Owners	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Tenants	109.8	113.8	119.3	100.0	50.0	55.8
Laborers	43.0	56.8	12.3	35.9	-	16.3
Total offices:						
Owners	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Tenants	92.6	98.3	85.7	137.5	42.9	105.1
Laborers	44.2	58.3	-	-	-	-
Southern white:						
Maximum attendance:						
Owners	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Renters	110.2	108.6	114.4	228.0	9.5	666.7
Croppers	88.8	88.6	120.3	47.4	-	476.0
Laborers	34.1	36.9	-	-	-	-
Total members:						
Owners	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Renters	129.1	135.0	76.9	196.0	111.8	144.1
Croppers	98.5	104.3	66.2	80.0	-	69.1
Laborers	36.4	42.1	-	-	-	-
Total offices:						
Owners	100.0	100.0	100.0	-	-	-
Renters	90.0	110.3	53.8	-	-	-
Croppers	84.0	107.7	-	-	-	-
Laborers	-	-	-	-	-	-
Negro:						
Maximum attendance:						
Owners	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	-	100.0
Renters	101.9	112.6	6.9	56.8	-	79.2
Croppers	74.3	84.7	15.7	-	-	9.5
Laborers	67.3	76.7	17.9	59.1	-	-
Total members:						
Owners	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	-	100.0
Renters	116.9	130.4	13.5	259.0	-	73.2
Croppers	77.4	87.3	38.5	-	-	12.2
Laborers	62.6	70.5	40.4	-	-	-
Total offices:						
Owners	100.0	100.0	100.0	-	-	100.0
Renters	76.6	78.8	-	-	-	56.8
Croppers	47.9	55.3	-	-	-	-
Laborers	33.0	42.4	182.8	-	-	-

Maximum attendance data show a different situation, however, for owners' families among Northern and Negro farmers show the largest figures, while those for laborers exceed tenants in the North. Among Southern whites the large superiority of membership in this type of organization is paralleled by an equally high average maximum attendance figure. Officers of this type of organization apparently do not come from the farm in the South, for no offices in occupational organizations are reported as held by members of either Negro or white families. In the North, on the contrary, tenants' families contribute one-third more officers to this type of organization than do owners.

A striking superiority of Northern tenants and Southern renters appears with respect to the average cash contribution to occupational organizations. In fact, this is the only type of organization in which the average contribution of families in any tenure class other than owners is largest. On a percentage basis, tenants' families in the North contribute nineteen times as much as owners, and renters' families in the South four times as much as owners among white farmers but the differences are slight between Negro renters and Negro farm owners. Neither croppers nor laborers report contributions to this type of organization. In view of the nature and function of the organized activities included in this category, and in view of the fact that where a man's money goes his heart goes also, it would seem that the cropper and the laborer either are little interested in farming as an occupation or that sharply drawn class lines exclude these tenure groups (Table 115).

Closely related to the type of organizations just discussed are economic organizations. In this category we find the owner largely dominating the scene. He overshadows the tenant and laborer in the North more completely in this than in any other category of organizations. In the South this type of organization does not exist among Negroes, nor, if we may judge by membership figures, does it exist for laborers or croppers among whites. White renters in the South, although consistently showing an excess of memberships over owners, in all types of organizations except educational, show a smaller excess in this type than in the other types discussed. Maximum attendance figures show these same Southern white renters to leave the running of the organizations very largely to the owners, for their maximum attendance figure is only one-tenth that of the average given by owners. In the North, similarly, the maximum attendance reported by tenants is only one-half that given by owners, a greater disparity than is found in any other type of organization in this sample population. The same relative dominance of owners generally appears with regard to offices held. In the South, offices in economic organizations, like offices in occupational organizations, are apparently not held with any considerable frequency by farmers, regardless of tenure, at least not on the basis of our sample. In the North, cash contributions by owners to organizations of this type greatly exceed those by tenants and laborers. This is also true, though not to so marked an extent, among Southern whites (Table 115).

Organizations of one more type, those of a fraternal nature, may be discussed briefly. Among Northern farmers, memberships are most frequently held by owners, about one-half as often by tenants, and still less often by laborers. Laborers in the South report no memberships in this type of organization, but among Southern whites the proportion of renters' memberships is greater than that of owners, and even croppers report a figure over two-thirds as large as that of owners. Among Negroes, renters' memberships are about three-fourths as numerous, relatively, as owners' while croppers' memberships are about one-tenth as frequent as owners'. Maximum attendance figures indicate that Southern white croppers, relatively, are at less disadvantage in this type of organization than in any other, for their average maximum participation figure is almost five times as large as that for owners. The superiority of the renters' figure over that of owners' likewise reaches its maximum in this category of organizations, for the figure representing average maximum attendance of renters is nearly seven times that of owners. Only in this type of organization does the maximum attendance figure of Northern tenants exceed that of Northern owners.

Here, evidently, is a type of organization significantly different from those previously discussed, at least so far as white farmers are concerned. Apparently, it is one in which owners either are uninterested, or in which the lower tenure classes have acquired a dominant position. Among Negroes, however, a different situation prevails, for membership, average maximum attendance, and offices held are largest among owners, smaller among renters, and smallest among croppers. The fact that Negro owners contribute more officers on the average to fraternal organizations than do the other tenure classes bears out this hierarchy. The interpretation suggested with respect to owners in fraternal organizations seems to be contradicted, however, by the fact that white owners contribute more on the average than do the lower tenure classes. It leaves open the possibility, at any rate, that fraternal organizations actually are fraternal, that is, they may allow more crossing of tenure lines than seems to be the case in other types of organizations with the possible exception of religious organizations.

A final comparison may be made to show how the various tenure classes distribute the money which they pay to various types of organizations. On this basis we find that no less than four-fifths of all contributions go to religious organizations, regardless of tenure class, in all three sample populations. In fact, Southern laborers report no contributions to any other type of organization, and less than 2 percent of croppers' contributions in the South go to the fraternal organizations that are the only other type of organization to receive any cash from this tenure class. Fraternal organizations in the North receive a relatively larger proportion of contributions from laborers than from owners or from tenants. Occupational organizations in the North receive relatively nineteen times as large a share of tenants' contributions as the share of owners' contributions going to this type of organization; but

among Southern whites, owners' contributions were relatively three times as large as those of tenants. Economic organizations, however, receive a relatively larger share of owners' contributions to all organizations than of lower tenure class members' contributions (Table 116).

Table 116.- Average amount of cash per informant family, paid to specified types of organizations

Item	: Grand : : total	: Religious:	: Educa- : tional	: Occupa- : tional	: Economic:	: Fraternal
Northern:						
Owners	\$23.70	\$19.50	\$0.20	\$0.10	\$2.30	\$1.20
Tenants	20.70	17.50	.10	1.60	.70	.80
Laborers	6.40	5.30	-	-	.30	.60
Southern white:						
Owners	13.10	12.10	.30	.10	.10	.50
Renters	9.10	8.10	.20	.30	.10	.40
Croppers	5.70	5.60	-	-	-	.10
Laborers	.70	.70	-	-	-	-
Negro:						
Owners	12.50	10.50	.30	.10	-	1.70
Renters	10.20	9.30	-	.10	-	.80
Croppers	5.70	5.60	-	-	-	.10
Laborers	3.80	3.80	-	-	-	-

To summarize this comparison we may say that, with the exception of occupational and fraternal organizations, owners consistently contribute the most, renters less, croppers still less, and laborers the least in the way of financial support, to all types of organizations. Leadership contributions, likewise, are consistently greatest among owners, with the exception of occupational organizations in the North and of religious organizations among Southern whites. Furthermore, among Northern families owners attend relatively more frequently, as judged by maximum attendance figures, in all types of organizations except fraternal, while among Southern whites renters show the largest average maximum attendance figures, except in the case of economic organizations, for all types of organizations.

We may not say, accordingly, that participation in formally organized activities strictly follows tenure lines, for, as we have seen, the dominance of owners is much greater in one type of organization than in others, and in some types actually gives way to superiority on the part of the lower tenure classes.

Miscellaneous Types of Group Life

Of group life in the country there remains now only a series of miscellaneous types to be discussed. In chapter II the sample population differences with respect to these types of participation were pointed out; now we shall consider tenure differences. To simplify the tenure comparison, the frequency of participation by owners is used as the base, 100 percent, and the relative participation of non-owners is expressed as a percentage of that figure. 32/

In all three sample populations non-owners vote less frequently and pay taxes less frequently proportionally than do owners. The difference between the frequency of such behavior on the part of non-owners and owners is relatively smallest in the North, largest among Negroes, and intermediate on the part of Southern white farmers. The participation of non-owners in the North so far as voting is concerned is over 95 percent that of owners, and paying taxes is over 90 percent the frequency for that of owners; but the frequency of voting reported by non-owning Negroes is only one-third that reported by owners, and a similar ratio exists with respect to paying taxes.

Non-owners in the North attend county fairs practically as often as do owners, while Southern white non-owners report such attendance about three-fourths as often as Southern white owners, and Negro non-owners report such attendance about 40 percent as often as owners. In other words, although in none of the sample populations do non-owners attend county fairs as often relatively as do owners, the discrepancy is least in the North, largest among Negroes, and somewhat between the two among Southern whites.

Southern white non-owners attend movies relatively more frequently than do owners in that sample population, while among Northern and Negro farmers non-owners report a slightly lower proportional frequency attending movies than do owners.

Picnicking, much more frequent in the North than in the South, is indulged in as often by Northern non-owners as by owners, while in the South, both among Negroes and whites, non-owners go in for this type of recreation only about three-fourths as often relatively as do owners in the respective sample populations.

Religious revivals are attended relatively much more frequently by non-owners in the North than by owners, although the proportion of all

32/ For example, if with respect to a particular function 75 percent of owners report attendance and 75 percent of non-owners likewise report attendance, then the figure for non-owners is 100 percent that of owners.

Northern farmers who attend revivals is comparatively small. In the South, where revivals are attended by a much larger proportion of all farmers, non-owners attend relatively about as often as do owners; the proportions are practically identical in the case of whites, but among Negroes the proportion among non-owners is nine-tenths as large as among owners.

Fishing was reported most frequently by Negroes, somewhat less often by Southern whites, and least often by Northern farmers. Non-owners among Negroes suffer no disadvantage with respect to this type of possibly profitable recreation, for they report going fishing just as often as do owners and hunting 125 percent as often as owners. Fishing is reported by fewer non-owners than owners among whites, both in the North and in the South, while hunting is much more often reported by non-owners than by owners in the North, and a little less often than owners by non-owning Southern whites.

In summary we may say that apparently the most significant tenure differences appear with respect to those types of miscellaneous social participation which involve civic functions. Tenure differences are much less, or even reversed - that is, the participation of non-owners may exceed that of owners - in the case of the more private and less formally organized types of social participation (Table 117).

Table 117.- Average family figures of non-owners for participation in miscellaneous types of group activity expressed as percentages of figures for families of owners

Type of activity	Northern		Southern white		Negro	
	: Number :		: Number :		: Number :	
	:of cases:	Ratio <u>1</u> /	:of cases:	Ratio <u>1</u> /	:of cases:	Ratio <u>1</u> /
Voted	68	98.5	52	82.0	10	31.9
Paid taxes	69	92.0	80	67.9	43	33.2
Attended -						
County fair	34	98.5	18	76.8	28	39.8
Movies	58	97.5	45	108.9	26	94.7
Picnics	55	100.0	27	81.6	30	76.9
Religious						
revivals	26	146.0	53	101.0	119	92.1
Went fishing	29	90.2	38	83.5	75	101.0
Went hunting	42	147.0	44	93.9	84	126.4

1/ See footnote 32, p. 214.

Chapter VIII

LEVELS AND STANDARDS OF LIVING: WHAT FARM FAMILIES HAVE AND WHAT THEY PREFER 33/

It is clearly desirable to know the differences between tenure classes with respect to the things they have, the possessions with which they carry on their day-to-day living. It is of no less importance to learn whether or not there are tenure differences with respect to the desires and aspirations which are behind and beneath the more easily observable phenomena of living. Only if we know something about these can we hope to understand our information regarding possessions. 34/ With this preliminary word, then, let us turn to the data.

Things to Live With

So far as most people are concerned, the living quarters of a family will probably tell more about its level of living than anything else. In modern America we may want to judge this matter by the value of the automobile that stands in the yard, but the characteristics of the house probably tell a good deal about levels of living in this country even today.

How do houses vary, then, between tenure classes with respect to certain characteristics? Disregarding the great variations in sizes of rooms, how do houses vary in size, judged by median number of rooms? Our data show through the tenure classes, and sample populations as well, a striking downward progression. Beginning with the largest and going to the smallest, this is the sequence: Northern owners (7.7), Northern tenants (7.3), Northern laborers (6.5); Southern white owners (5.7), Southern white tenants and colored owners (having the same median figure, 4.4), Southern white laborers (3.9); Negro laborers (3.8), and lowest of all, Negro tenants (3.5).

Differences in the sizes of families make it desirable to reduce the comparison to one of number of rooms per resident member of the family. On this basis we find again that the most spacious living quarters are enjoyed by Northern owners, followed by the non-owning tenure classes in the North. White owners and renters in the South have the same amount of space, but it is less than that for any of the Northern tenure classes. Negro families, regardless of tenure class, have the least space, the most

33/ The data presented in the second and third sections of this chapter are based on the long schedule sample populations.

34/ The distinction made in chapter II between the terms "standard of living" and "level of living" will be adhered to in the following discussion.

crowding being found among croppers' families. On the average, each member of a Northern owner's family has three times as much house space as does a member of a Negro cropper's family.

It is to be recognized that Northern farm people probably spend more time inside their houses than Southern farm people, and that the porches of houses in the South are more important as living quarters than are those in the North. But in spite of the allowances to be made because of climatic differences, there is least crowding in the North and most crowding within the houses of the lower tenure classes among Negro families in the South (Fig. 28, p. 220).

In the attempt to find out which, of several conveniences that are ordinarily thought of as permanent facilities in the house, is most often preferred by housewives, three items were considered together—running water, kitchen sink with drain, and indoor toilet. At the same time, inquiry was made as to which, or which combination, of these items was available for use. 35/ Of the three items mentioned, Northern families regardless of tenure class most frequently report having kitchen sinks with drains, but owners and tenants clearly are better supplied in this respect than laborers. The same is true with regard to running water. Indoor toilets are reported in the homes of one out of every five owners, one of every ten tenants, and one of every fourteen laborers. Tenure classes do not agree closely with respect to preferences, for owners' wives most frequently express a desire for the convenience of running water in the house, kitchen sink with drain coming last in order of preference. The indoor toilet is preferred by about 7 percent of tenants' wives, but the proportions both of owners' and laborers' wives making this choice is four to five times as large. Running water comes last, among the conveniences considered, among the preferences of the wives of the laborers (Table 118).

When the same question is put to white housewives in the South, tenure differences in responses are less pronounced. 36/ But in each comparison between what owners and tenants have, the latter report the presence of a convenience only one-half to one-ninth as often as do

35/ In the analysis of this material, renters and croppers were first considered separately. But a careful comparison of differences between these two tenure classes with respect to the materials discussed in this section revealed the differences to be so slight as to make it possible to combine renters and croppers without doing violence to the data and without losing any significant distinctions. Accordingly, tables, figures, and text refer to renters and croppers combined under the general term "tenants."

36/ The percentages based on numbers of laborers' families are unreliable because of the small number of cases involved.

Table 118.- Percentages of families who now have available for use specified facilities, and percentages of housewives expressing preference for one of the specified facilities

		: Owners :		: Tenants :		: Laborers :	
Sample population :		Owners		Tenants		Laborers	
and conveniences :		Now have:	Prefer:	Now have:	Prefer:	Now have:	Prefer
Northern:							
Total number of cases		63		61		14	
A:							
Running water	24	56	20	46	7	21	
Kitchen sink	57	17	54	47	21	43	
Indoor toilet	21	27	10	7	7	36	
B:							
Sewing machine	98	19	93	20	64	21	
Washing machine	75	65	77	74	64	64	
Icebox or refrigerator	43	16	44	7	29	14	
Southern white:							
Total number of cases		58		72		8	
A:							
Running water	14	65	6	58	25	62	
Kitchen sink	21	24	7	29	12	37	
Indoor toilet	9	10	1	12	-	-	
B:							
Sewing machine	72	59	78	53	12	62	
Washing machine	9	14	4	15	12	25	
Ice box or refrigerator	29	28	29	32	12	12	
Negro:							
Total number of cases		34		114		19	
A:							
Running water	-	53	1	32	-	21	
Kitchen sink	-	32	2	44	-	53	
Indoor toilet	-	12	-	24	-	26	
B:							
Sewing machine	73	62	44	63	42	68	
Washing machine	-	9	1	16	-	16	
Icebox or refrigerator	18	26	8	20	5	16	

the former. As in the North, the greatest difference appears with respect to availability of an indoor toilet. Almost two-thirds of Southern white housewives express a preference for running water, which is a considerably higher proportion than was the case with Northern housewives. The indoor toilet is mentioned by about 10 percent as first choice both among owners' and tenants' families (Table 118).

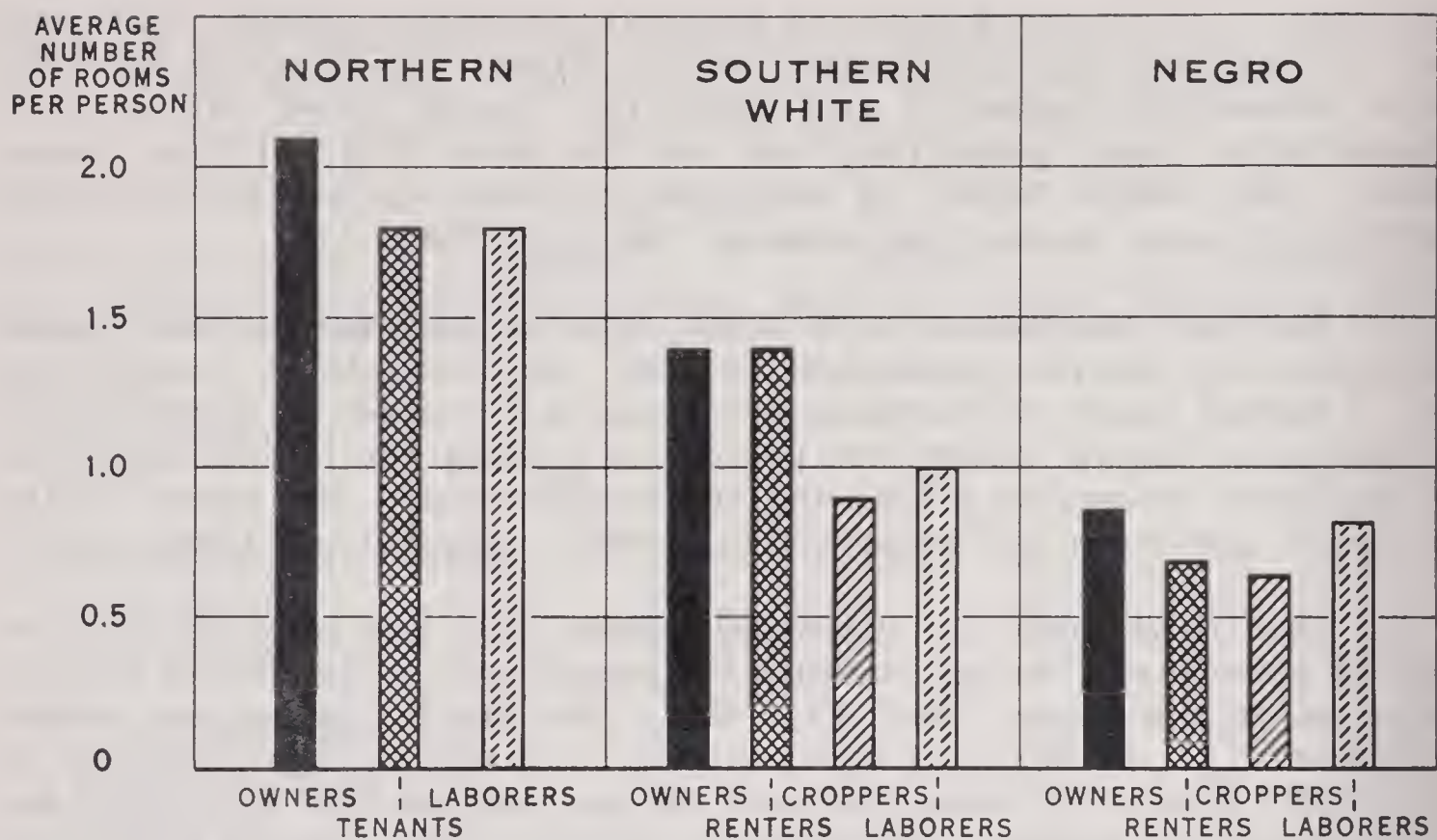
The only conclusion to be drawn from the information about these facilities in colored households is that they are almost totally absent. Marked tenure differences are found with respect to preferences, a majority of owners' housewives preferring running water, and a majority of laborers' housewives preferring the kitchen sink. The indoor toilet is again preferred by comparatively small proportions (Table 118).

As a rough index for comparing tenure-class possessions with regard to these items, we may consider the proportions of households reporting none of the three items (Fig. 29). The similarity between owners and tenants in the North as contrasted with laborers, the inversion of the usual tenure order among Southern whites, and the fact that among Negroes nearly 100 percent, regardless of tenure class, fall in this category sum up the situation concisely.

The next comparison is with respect to less permanent conveniences: sewing machine, washing machine, and icebox or refrigerator. The housewife again was asked which of the three items she would most prefer if she could have but one of the three. Owners and tenants in the North are considerably better fixed with respect to these items than are laborers, while tenants report both washing machines and refrigerators more frequently than do owners. Among Southern whites tenure differences between owners and renters are insignificant, and laborers report relatively smaller proportions of sewing machines and refrigerators. Preferences concentrate on the sewing machine, tenure differences apparently being of minor importance.

Turning now to colored households, we find that sewing machines are possessed by nearly three-fourths of all owners, but only two out of five renters, croppers, or laborers. Refrigerators are quite rare, and washing machines are practically non-existent in households of all classes. Preferences, among Negroes as among Southern whites, are most frequently expressed for the sewing machine. Although Negro housewives seem to have wants in general very similar to those of white housewives, so far as our comparison shows, Negro families are at a more or less serious disadvantage as compared with white families, regardless of item considered (Table 118).

The marked differences between the three sample populations concerning the foregoing material deserve some emphasis. Although tenure differences regarding possessions have been found, there seem to be only slight differences with respect to preferences in each of the three

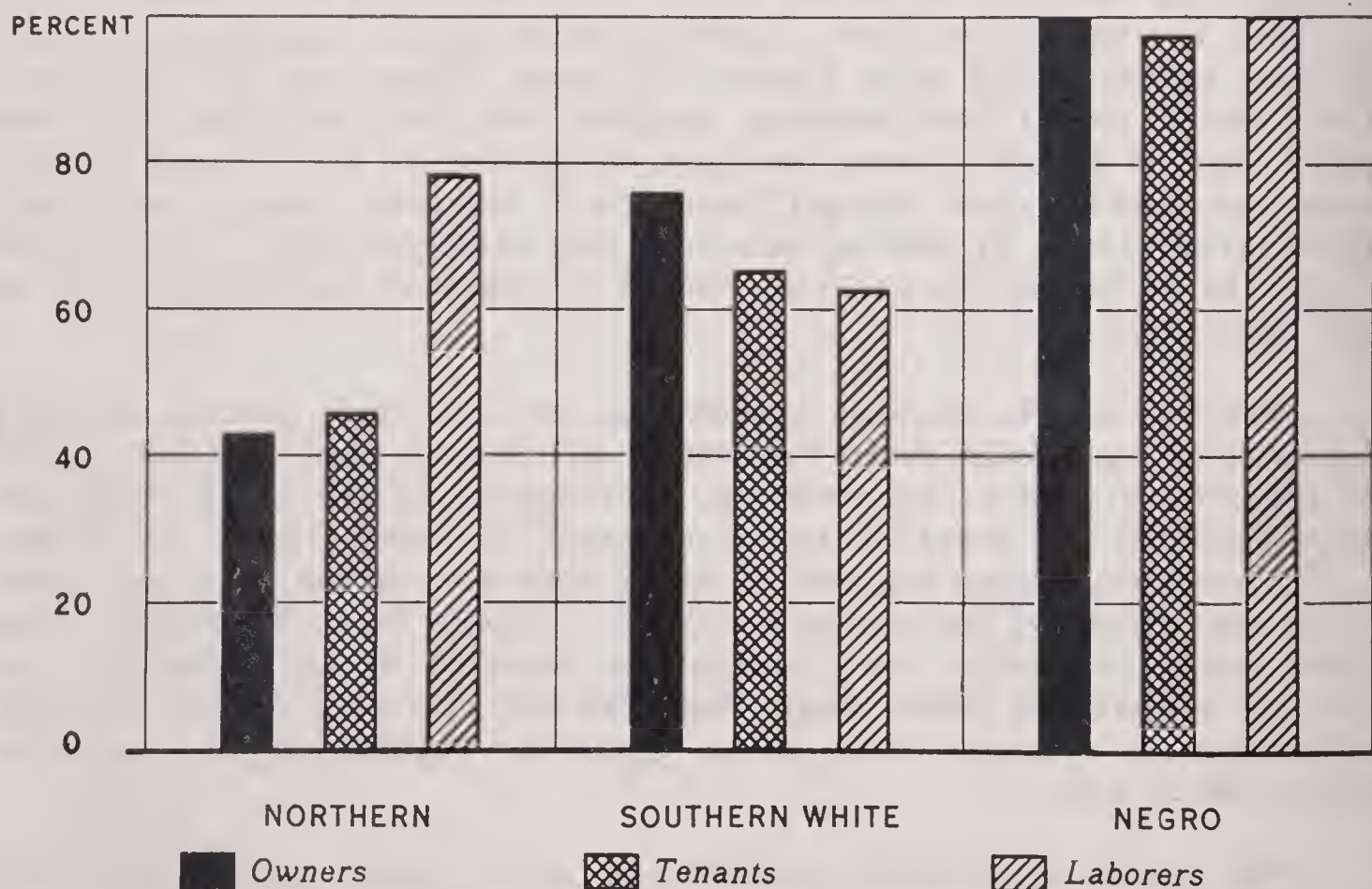


U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 32685

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIGURE 28.- AVERAGE NUMBER OF ROOMS IN HOUSE PER PERSON.



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 32716

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FIGURE 29.- PERCENTAGES OF INFORMANT FAMILIES REPORTING NO RUNNING WATER, KITCHEN SINK, OR INDOOR TOILET.

sample population. This suggests that much the same standard of living prevails, regardless of tenure class, differences appearing largely in ability to achieve the desired standard. But what is desired as well as possessed differs strikingly between North and South, for the washing machine is the first choice in the North, while the sewing machine is just as decisively first choice in the South, among both whites and Negroes.

Comparisons, accordingly, which evaluate levels of living in various parts of the country in terms of a single standard of living may be completely misleading, both in method and in implication. It would be no more absurd to point out, for instance, that one man has gone only 14 miles to the north whereas another has gone 20 miles to the north, if the first man wanted to go northeast and may actually have gone as far in that direction as the second went to the north. Not until we have evidence as to what people want can the level of living of any one group be compared meaningfully with that of another group in terms of a single standard. In other words, a demonstration that Southern families more often possess one thing than Northern families, or that Northern families more often possess another thing than Southern families, in itself, proves little.

Turning from items that are more or less utilitarian, let us take up some of the amenities of living: musical instruments, such as the phonograph, the piano, and the organ. In view of the overwhelming preferences for the piano among Northern families, the tenure differences in possessions are significant: about one in seven laborers', three in seven renters', and four in seven owners' families have a piano. The fact that about one in five Northern families, regardless of tenure class, own a phonograph loses point when we see how few of them really prefer a phonograph to a piano. Among Northern farm families, the glory of the organ belongs to a vanished day. Few families have them and even fewer want them. In the South there are still housewives who prefer the organ to either the piano or the phonograph. They are in the minority, however, for the piano is first in order of preference among Southern whites, and among Negro families the phonograph is the preferred instrument. Tenure differences with respect to preferences are inconsequential in the South, as they were in the North, but possessions again show owners to be the most fortunate, laborers the least fortunate, and tenants to occupy an intermediate position. For every Southern white tenant family which reports a piano more than four owners' families report the same. The tenure difference is just as pronounced among Negro families, although Negroes as a whole possess far fewer pianos than do whites. Among Southern whites only the organ is possessed as frequently by tenants as by owners. Colored families report the possession of phonographs more frequently than either pianos or organs. This is true in each tenure class, which suggests that the expression of preference for the phonograph is not simply an adjustment of desires to what is attainable.

In other words, it seems clear that we have here a difference between Negro and Southern white in standard of living, the piano serving to give the white household more pleasure or prestige than the phonograph, while the latter instrument serves these purposes more satisfactorily in the case of the Negro family (Table 119).

Table 119.- Percentages of families possessing phonograph, piano and organ; and percentages of housewives expressing preference for one of the three foregoing items

Item	Owners		Tenants		Laborers	
	Now have	Prefer	Now have	Prefer	Now have	Prefer
Northern:						
Total number of cases	63		61		14	
Phonographs	24	8	31	15	21	7
Pianos	52	84	39	80	14	93
Organs	6	2	3	-	-	-
Southern white:						
Total number of cases	58		72		8	
Phonographs	33	24	29	19	-	37
Pianos	33	52	7	60	-	50
Organs	10	3	11	7	-	12
Negro:						
Total number of cases	34		114		19	
Phonographs	26	50	18	60	5	58
Pianos	6	38	1	36	-	37
Organs	6	6	2	3	-	5

Telephone and radio serve to minimize the social isolation which usually accompanies the spatial isolation of the farm family. For this reason it is important to note the possession of one or the other, or both of these, and also the preference for the one or the other of these items. Regardless of region or race, the radio gets first preference. This is also true when tenure classes are compared, for in every instance owners, tenants, and laborers prefer the radio more frequently than the telephone. This preference is somewhat more marked among laborers in the North than among renters or owners, but tenure differences among preferences in the South seem insignificant.

With respect to possessions, however, there are marked differences between tenure classes. Owners, almost without exception, more often report possession either of the radio or telephone. About three-fourths of Northern owners possess both, while tenants have less, and laborers the smallest proportion. Among Southern whites the telephone is available to less than one in ten, even among owners, while tenants report it in about one case out of seven. The radio is reported much more often than the telephone, regardless of tenure class, but more tenants than laborers, and more owners than tenants possess the radio. In the case of colored families both telephone and radio are extremely rare, radios being reported by about one out of ten owners' families and about one in one hundred renters' families, while telephones are completely absent from the households of both tenure classes. Of the nineteen Negro laborer families, one reports a telephone, while none have radios (Table 120).

Table 120.- Percentages of families who report possession or availability for use of telephone and radio; and percentages of housewives who express preference for one of the foregoing two items

Item	:		:		:	
	: Owners		: Tenants		: Laborers	
	: Now have:	Prefer	: Now have:	Prefer	: Now have:	Prefer
Northern:						
Total number of cases	63		61		14	
Telephone	71	48	54	44	29	29
Radio	78	51	72	56	43	71
Southern white:						
Total number of cases	58		72		8	
Telephone	7	17	1	18	-	25
Radio	41	78	29	81	12	75
Negro:						
Total number of cases	34		114		19	
Telephone	-	35	-	25	5	32
Radio	9	62	1	74	-	68

What sort of current reading material does the farm family read, and for which type is there the greatest preference? Some few tenure differences appear, especially with regard to periodicals received, and

likewise there are certain differences between the three sample populations. But with respect to preferences the daily newspaper clearly is the favorite among periodicals received, or if not received, it is the one type of periodical that is most preferred by farm families, regardless of tenure, race, or region. In the North the tenant's family is slightly more likely than that of any other tenure class to receive daily newspapers, farm periodicals, women's periodicals, or children's periodicals. Only in the case of weekly newspapers and religious periodicals do owners' families report subscriptions more frequently than tenants. Regardless of type of publication, laborers' families are subscribers least often. Among Southern white families, the proportion receiving publications is least among laborers. But contrary to what was true in the North, more families of owners than of tenants receive daily newspapers and farm periodicals. Southern white farm owners more often receive religious periodicals than do tenants. In other words, it seems that the relative positions of tenants and owners in the North are practically reversed in the South, more owners than tenants receiving current reading material in the South, but fewer owners than tenants in the North. In the case of colored farm families, owners proportionately receive daily newspapers, weekly newspapers, and farm periodicals much more often than do families in the other tenure classes. Religious periodicals, women's periodicals, and children's periodicals, on the other hand, are reported much more frequently by tenants' than by owners' families (Table 121).

Important both from an economic and from a social point of view are the means of transportation by which farm families are able to cut down the time and distance that separate them from their neighbors and from their trade centers. A consideration of this topic reveals minor tenure differences, but apparently more significant than these are the striking differences between the three sample populations. Tenure differences, most pronounced in the South, are more decided among Negroes than among whites. With regard to the proportion of Negro farm families reporting that they have no means of transportation - that they usually walk, in other words - this is found to be true of one out of three owners' families, over half of tenants' families, and four out of five laborers' families.

Taking up the ownership of automobiles, we find that colored farm owners report possession about twice as often as non-owners. Likewise, they own a buggy or wagon more frequently than either tenants or laborers. Among Southern whites the laborer family is most rarely able to afford an automobile, and is most often forced to walk. The differences between owners and tenants in this sample population, however, both with respect to the proportions who walk and the proportions who boast automobiles, are insignificant; that is, the considerable difference between colored owners and tenants with respect to means of transportation reported does not apply in the case of Southern white farm families.

Table 121.- Percentages of families who report that they regularly receive specified types of publications; and percentages of housewives expressing preference for one of the specified types of publications

Item	Owners		Tenants		Laborers	
	Now have	Prefer	Now have	Prefer	Now have	Prefer
Northern:						
Total number of cases	63		61		14	
Newspapers:						
Daily newspapers	89	70	97	59	79	93
Weekly newspapers	75	3	66	-	29	-
Periodicals:						
Farm periodicals	75	-	88	2	64	-
Religious periodicals	21	-	20	2	7	7
Women's periodicals	49	2	56	2	14	-
Children's periodicals	3	-	15	-	-	-
Southern white:						
Total number of cases	58		72		8	
Newspapers:						
Daily newspapers	62	47	44	37	-	50
Weekly newspapers	28	2	35	3	-	-
Periodicals:						
Farm periodicals	69	14	43	11	12	12
Religious periodicals	22	2	14	1	-	-
Women's periodicals	29	-	33	-	-	-
Children's periodicals	7	5	4	-	12	-
Negro:						
Total number of cases	34		114		19	
Newspapers:						
Daily newspapers	29	59	8	67	16	74
Weekly newspapers	18	3	2	3	-	5
Periodicals:						
Farm periodicals	47	21	17	16	5	16
Religious periodicals	3	9	1	10	5	5
Women's periodicals	6	3	-	4	-	5
Children's periodicals	-	3	-	-	-	-

In the North, contrary to what we find in the South, tenants least often report that they ordinarily walk, since almost without exception they possess automobiles. Strikingly different from their Southern colleagues, Northern farm laborers report ownership of an automobile as often as do owners. Furthermore, they walk less than one-third as often

as white laborers in the South, and less than one-fifth as often as colored farm laborers.

If the automobile were to be regarded as a true measure by which to gauge the level of living of American families, we should find Northern farm families, regardless of tenure class, to have a higher level of living than Southern, and white families in the South a higher one than Negro families; we should find that Northern renters actually outstrip Northern owners with respect to level of living, but that Southern owners have a higher level of living than Southern tenants. Of course, we do not propose to simplify the problem to this extent. Nevertheless,

Table 122.- Percentages of families who report specified usual means of transportation; and percentages of housewives expressing preference for one of specified means of transportation 1/

Item	: Owners		: Tenants		: Laborers	
	:Now have:	Prefer:	:Now have:	Prefer:	:Now have:	Prefer:
Northern:						
Total number of cases	63		61		14	
Automobile	84	90	98	100	86	100
Buggy or wagon	8	6	-	-	-	-
Horse or mule	2	-	-	-	-	-
Two-wheel cart	-	-	-	-	-	-
None (walk)	6	3	2	-	14	-
Southern white:						
Total number of cases	58		72		8	
Automobile	48	83	47	81	25	87
Buggy or wagon	28	7	19	7	-	12
Horse or mule	2	-	1	-	-	-
Two-wheel cart	-	-	4	-	-	-
None (walk)	17	3	19	1	50	-
Negro:						
Total number of cases	34		114		19	
Automobile	21	73	7	80	10	100
Buggy or wagon	32	15	24	15	-	-
Horse or mule	3	-	3	3	-	-
Two-wheel cart	3	3	2	1	-	-
None (walk)	35	6	54	1	79	-

1/ Omitting percentages of those who did not report.

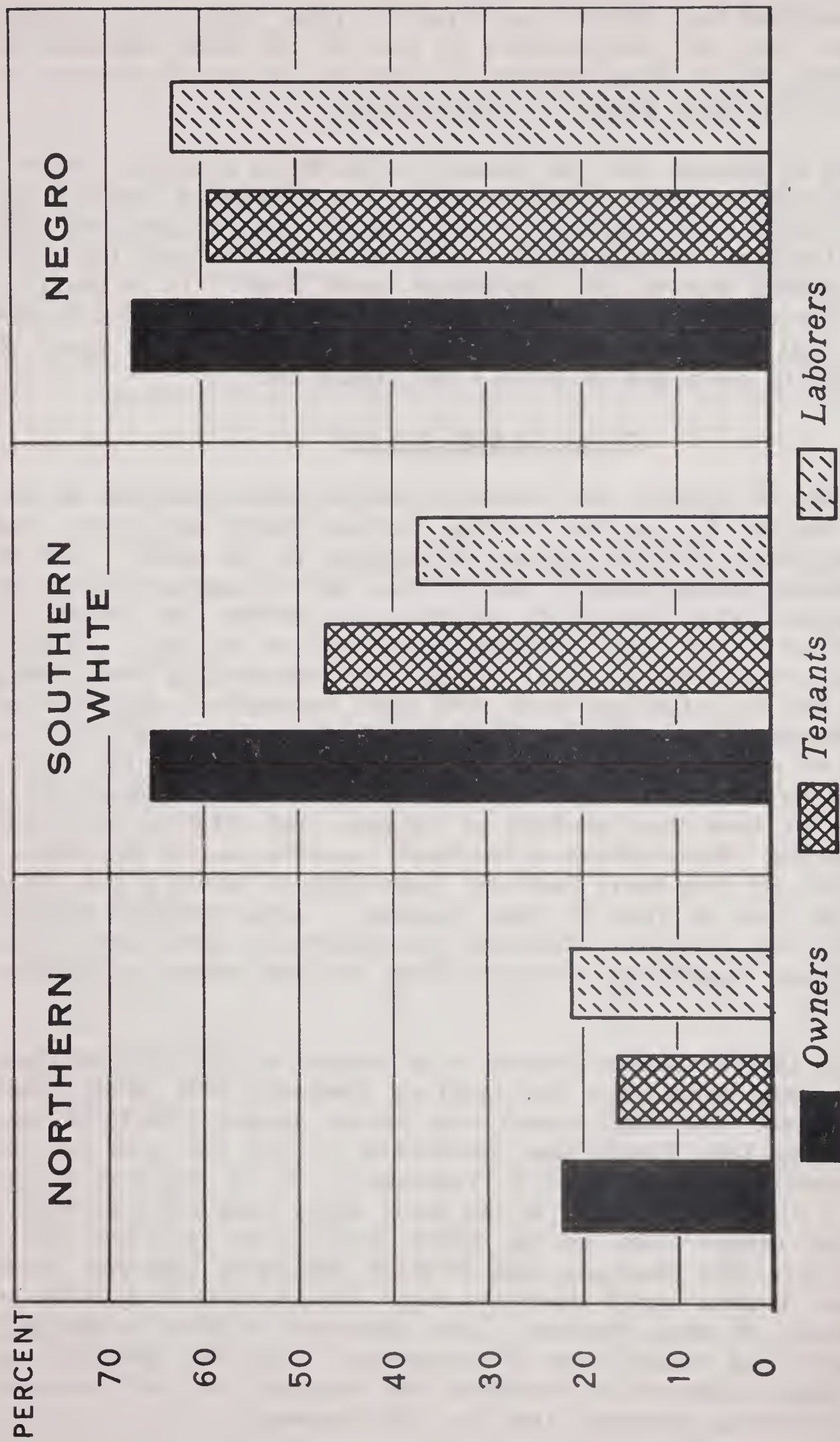
it must be admitted that whether one walks or rides, and, if the latter, how one rides, has real significance in view of the large majority of members in each tenure class expressing a preference for the automobile in comparison with other means of transportation.

It may be pointed out that owners in the North somewhat less often than non-owners express a preference for the automobile, which helps account for the fact that Northern owners possess fewer automobiles than do Northern tenants. Among Negroes, laborers most often want the automobile, and owners express this preference least often. It is possible that this difference between owners' and non-owners' preferences is due to the fact that the owners are older, and therefore may have found it more difficult to learn how to drive a car (Table 122).

Things to Make Use of

The type of highway most commonly used by farm families, as indicated in chapter II, differs widely, between North and South, and differs considerably between whites and Negroes in the South. Now we wish to discover whether owners tend to have better highway facilities at their disposal than tenants or laborers, or whether the reverse is true. As a matter of fact, neither generalization applies. Colored farm families, regardless of tenure class, are considerably more likely than not to use an unimproved dirt road most frequently, while in the North, regardless of tenure class, most farm families are likely to live on one kind of improved road or another. Among whites, in the South, about two-thirds of owners most frequently make use of dirt roads, while this is true of less than one-half of tenants, and slightly over one-third of laborers. White owners in the South, in other words, are practically no better off than Negro families, regardless of tenure status, with respect to the type of road at their disposal. Among Southern whites, both tenants' and laborers' families are apparently more likely than colored families, regardless of tenure class, to have access to improved roads (Fig. 30).

How do tenure classes compare with respect to the various types of insurance they carry, and the relative frequency with which these types are carried? One might expect that owners, having invested in real estate, would be less likely than non-owners to feel the need for the type of protection offered by life insurance. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that tenants in the North carry relatively more life insurance than owners. But in the South this is not the case; white owners carry more life insurance than do white tenants or laborers, while among Negroes, tenants carry insurance about one-third as frequently as do either owners or farm laborers. Life insurance, with one exception, is consistently the chosen type of protection. The one exception is found among Negro laborers in the South, who express a slightly greater preference for burial insurance than for life insurance.



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 32686

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIGURE 30.- PERCENTAGES OF INFORMANT FAMILIES WHO REPORT MOST COMMONLY USED PUBLIC HIGHWAY IS DIRT ROAD.

Table 123.- Percentages of families who report carrying specified types of insurance policies; and percentages of housewives who express preference for one of specified types of insurance

Item	Owners		Tenants		Laborers	
	:Now have:	Prefer:	:Now have:	Prefer:	:Now have:	Prefer:
Northern:						
Total number of cases	63		61		14	
Types of insurance:						
Life	54	35	69	28	43	79
Burial	2	-	7	5	-	14
Personal property	76	6	87	25	36	7
Automobile	49	9	51	-	14	-
Farm buildings	84	32	26	5	-	-
Crops	6	2	10	-	-	-
Southern white:						
Total number of cases	58		72		8	
Types of insurance:						
Life	47	50	31	69	25	87
Burial	17	2	11	6	25	-
Personal property	5	-	-	-	-	-
Automobile	9	-	3	2	25	-
Farm buildings	21	3	1	-	-	-
Crops	3	3	1	1	-	-
Negro:						
Total number of cases	34		114		19	
Types of insurance:						
Life	29	47	11	69	31	47
Burial	47	29	44	22	37	53
Personal property	6	9	1	1	-	-
Automobile	6	6	-	-	-	-
Farm buildings	12	3	-	-	-	-
Crops	-	6	1	3	-	-

With respect to other kinds of insurance, differences between the sample populations seems more striking and more significant than those between tenure classes within the sample populations. The frequency with which burial insurance is reported by Negroes, and the frequency with which it is given as first preference, distinguishes this group from both

the other sample populations. Among white families, on the other hand, the frequency with which personal property, automobile, and farm building insurance is carried in the North distinguishes the farmers in this area from white farmers in the South. The difference between owners and tenants with respect to insurance carried on farm buildings is large but not surprising. However, while owners in the North insure farm buildings about three times as often proportionally as do tenants, this tenure difference among Southern whites is even greater, for in the latter sample population there are about fifteen owners who carry such insurance to one tenant who does the same. Negro owners, furthermore, carry insurance on farm buildings about one-seventh as often as do Northern owners, and one-half as often as Southern white owners, while no Negro tenants report farm-building insurance.

In summary we may say that, while tenure differences are to be found with regard to type and frequency of insurance reported, they appear to be less notable than the differences between the three sample populations (Table 123).

Things to Avoid if Possible

Some idea of the relative economic condition of the various tenure classes may be gained from a comparison of the proportions reporting mortgage indebtedness. Among owners, of course, the mortgage usually is on land. Landlords, among white farmers, both North and South, on this basis are in the best economic situation: fewer of them than of either full or part-owners report mortgages on land. Nevertheless, a full one-third of landlords report mortgage indebtedness on their farm land. Fewer colored part-owners report mortgages on land than do farmers in any other owning category among Negroes (21 percent), while among white owning classes, both North and South, part-owners report by far the largest proportions of mortgages on land (Table 124).

Table 124.- Percentages of owners who report mortgage indebtedness on farm land owned

Item	Northern		Southern white		Negro	
	: Percentages:		: Percentages:		: Percentages:	
	Total	: reporting	Total	: reporting	Total	: reporting
	:	: mortgage	:	: mortgage	:	: mortgage
Landlords	110	33	195	34	32	41
Full owners	149	53	162	41	77	41
Part-owners	96	60	41	56	19	21

Mortgages on crops and/or livestock are reported most rarely by Northern owners, and most often by colored renters, there being about seven of the latter to one of the former. Comparing tenure classes in the three sample populations we find that more are found reporting this type of mortgage among Negroes than among Southern whites in each respective tenure class, and more among Southern whites than in each respective tenure class in the North. On this basis the economic condition of renters in each sample population might be regarded as worst, and of owners as best. But these differences might also be regarded as less significant than the hierarchy of economic well-being represented by the three sample populations (Table 125).

Table 125.- Percentages of farmers reporting crop and/or livestock mortgages

Items	Total number of cases	Percentages reporting mortgage
Northern:		
All owners	355	9
Renters	247	26
Southern white:		
All owners	398	19
Renters	275	43
Croppers	168	20
Negro:		
All owners	128	36
Renters	253	62
Croppers	372	55

What the Farm Provides

How do the tenure classes compare with respect to size of gross income? Among Northern farmers the highest median gross income is reported by part-owners, for whom the figure is practically \$2,000. Full owners report a median gross income of about \$1,700. For unrelated renters the figure is about \$1,450, and for related renters it is about \$1,300. Landlords report a gross income practically the same as that of related renters. Laborers report by far the smallest gross incomes, about \$400.

Among Southern whites the largest gross income is reported by landlords rather than by part-owners, as was the case in the North. For landlords the figure is about \$800; for full owners, less than \$500; for renters, \$400. The figure for croppers is also around \$350, while for laborers it is less than \$250.

Table 126.- Median gross income by tenure class

Sample population and tenure status	:	Total number reporting	:	Median income
Northern:				
Landlords		110		\$1,328
Full owners		149		1,639
Part-owners		96		1,937
Related renters		67		1,323
Unrelated renters		180		1,462
Related croppers		10		1,500
Unrelated croppers		6		937
Related laborers		9		450
Unrelated laborers		60		403
Southern white:				
Landlords		182 <u>1/</u>		\$733
Full owners		156		450
Part-owners		41		666
Related renters		59		381
Unrelated renters		209		406
Related croppers		35		333
Unrelated croppers		63		358
Related laborers		5		216
Unrelated laborers		44		226
Negro:				
Landlords		32 <u>1/</u>		\$500
Full owners		76		327
Part-owners		18		500
Related renters		18		175
Unrelated renters		229		329
Related croppers		18		187
Unrelated croppers		334		237
Related laborers		2		150
Unrelated laborers		79		163

1/ Discrepancies between tenure totals in this table and totals as given in the Appendix are due to the fact that some informants failed to give gross income information.

Among Negroes the largest median gross income, about \$500, appears both for landlords and for part-owners, while full owners and unrelated renters likewise report figures above the median for all Negro farmers (the figure being about \$325). The lowest median gross income is that of related laborers, being only \$150.

It may be said, by way of summary, that the gross income of part-owners is well above the median figure in each sample population, being highest of all tenure classes in the North and one of the two highest among Negroes. Landlords report the largest gross incomes in the South, both among whites and Negroes, while in the North the gross income is much larger for full owners than for landlords. Related renters receive gross incomes lower than, while both Northern and Negro unrelated renters receive gross incomes higher than, the median figures for their respective sample populations. The gross income of laborers is lower than that of any other tenure class among whites, either North or South; among Negroes, laborers, related croppers, and related renters receive about the same lowermost figure (Table 126).

A crude but effective measure of what the farm provides in the way of produce which may contribute to farm family's living, is the proportion in each tenure class reporting possession of 100 or more chickens. Tenure differences, while present, are dwarfed by the disparities existing between sample populations. Eighty-six percent of Northern renters, and 80 percent of Northern owners report owning 100 or more chickens, while less than 20 percent of Southern white owners or renters, and less than 5 percent of Negro owners or renters had as many. Although the proportions of croppers and laborers reporting a flock of chickens of this size are fewer in each sample population than owners or renters, the Northern tenure class reporting the fewest in this category (laborers) still contains a higher proportion than does the highest ranking tenure classes in the South.

Furthermore, the lowest tenure class among Southern whites (laborers) again has a larger proportion in this category than does the highest among Negro farmers. Although no one will maintain that this measure is the most significant that can be used to compare contribution of the farm to family living, nevertheless it would seem to point to differences in the fundamental patterns of farming as carried on in the three sample populations which make for differences in the level of living. The Northern farmer can eat his chickens when he does not want to sell them, but the Cotton Belt farmer can neither eat nor make use of his cotton in any other way if low prices deter him from selling it (Table 127).

A measure that discriminates more clearly between tenure classes in the South is one that involves the possession of 1 or more dairy cattle, 1 or more hogs, and 5 or more chickens. Southern laborers, on this basis, white as well as colored, report possession of all three items in only about 10 percent of all cases, but these possessions are reported by 33 percent of the white croppers, 38 percent of the colored croppers, 65 percent of the white owners, 68 percent of the colored renters, 73 percent of the white renters, and, most frequently of all, by 77 percent of the colored owners. At the other end of the scale of possession, 43 percent of the white laborers, and 35 percent of the colored laborers report having none of the three items considered, while this is true of only 9 percent of croppers, either white or colored, and of insignifi-

Table 127.- Percentages of farmers who report owning one hundred or more chickens

Sample population and tenure status	:	Total	:	Percentages
	:	number	:	reporting
	:	of cases	:	chickens
Northern:				
Owners		355		79.2
Renters		247		85.8
Croppers		16		56.3
Laborers		69		27.5
Southern white:				
Owners		398		18.6
Renters		275		18.9
Croppers		168		7.7
Laborers		53		5.7
Negro:				
Owners		128		4.7
Renters		253		2.4
Croppers		372		2.0
Laborers		89		1.1

cant proportions of members of the higher tenure classes. A full one-third of the white croppers report possession of hogs and cattle only, while this is true of only one-fourth of colored croppers. Laborers among both white and colored farmers, more frequently possess chickens only than do the members of any other tenure class. In summary, this comparison shows the various tenure classes to be relatively better off in this respect as we climb the agricultural ladder (Table 128).

As the final comparison of this sort, the proportions in the various tenure classes who report having one or more head of dairy cattle may be presented. In each sample population there are fewer such farm laborers than members of any other tenure class, and more such white renters and Negro owners than members of other tenure classes (Table 129). 37/

The Farm as a Productive Plant

The farm is the farmer's factory, and, other things being equal - which they are frequently not - the size of his factory has much to do

37/ It seems probable that the inclusion of town-dwelling landlords is responsible for the fact that around one-fourth of white owners report owning no dairy cattle.

Table 128.- Percentages of Southern farmers who report possession of cattle, hogs, and chickens

	Total	Percentages Reporting			
Sample population:	number			Hogs and	Cattle, hogs,
and tenure status:	reporting	None	Chickens	cattle	and chickens
Southern white:					
Owners	398	3	2	14	65
Renters	275	2	3	8	73
Croppers	168	9	11	33	33
Laborers	53	43	21	7	11
Negro:					
Owners	128	1	2	8	77
Renters	253	1	2	17	68
Croppers	372	9	9	24	38
Laborers	89	35	17	27	10

Table 129.- Percentages of farmers who report owning one or more head of dairy cattle

Sample population and tenure status	Total number : of cases	Percentages reporting : dairy cattle
Northern:		
Owners	355	73.0
Renters	263	87.1
Croppers	-	-
Laborers	69	20.3
Southern white:		
Owners	398	77.4
Renters	275	84.4
Croppers	168	47.6
Laborers	53	24.5
Negro:		
Owners	128	85.9
Renters	253	77.9
Croppers	372	52.4
Laborers	89	15.7

with its output and the farmer's income. Although many other factors are important, the average acreages farmed by members of the various tenure classes are worth considering. Comparing the respective tenure classes, the average figure in the North is larger than that in the South, and in the South, similarly, the figure is larger for whites than for Negroes. Part-owners in each sample population are farming the largest acreages. Southern croppers report smallest acreages, while for Northern croppers the figure is much larger than for full owners, being practically the same as for renters. Full owners in the North report the smallest acreage, while in the South their acreage figures rank higher than those for renters or croppers.

Possibly even more significant, from the point of view of making a living, is the comparison of crop acreages. On this basis the relative differences between Negro and white farms in the South are diminished considerably, although the acreages of the latter remain roughly twice as large, on the average, as those of the former. The comparison on this basis leaves the ranking among Northern and Negro tenure classes practically unchanged. Among Southern white farmers, however, when crop acres alone are considered, renters are found to work larger acreages than do full owners, but part-owners still report the largest, and croppers the smallest, figures (Table 130).

Table 130.- Average total and crop acreages per farm

Sample population and tenure status	: Total : number : of cases	:Average: : total : :acreage:	Average crop acreage
Northern:			
Full owners	149	133	85
Part-owners	96	231	155
renters	247	169	121
croppers	16	172	125
Southern white:			
Full owners	162	121	65
Part-owners	41	156	104
Renters	275	117	81
Croppers	168	45	32
Negro:			
Full owners	77	47	32
Part-owners	19	57	40
Renters	253	40	32
Croppers	372	27	21

Appendix

THE TENURE CLASSES COMPARED

It might seem easy to distinguish between a farmer and a man who is not a farmer, but when you begin talking with the men on farms you find that there are many confusing and perplexing situations. Probably you would turn for assistance to the census definitions of "farm" and "farm operator," even though these definitions are not for all purposes the best that could be made. In fact, some census concepts are, for our usage, so broadly defined that they lose most of their significance. But by employing these official definitions we are at least in a position to learn how our data compare with official census data. This is an important advantage for, regardless of the limitations of such data, they are still by far the most comprehensive measurements of contemporary society that we have. 38/

38/ The following definitions are quoted from the volumes of the Census of Agriculture, 1935:

A "farm," for census purposes, is all the land which is directly farmed by one person, either by his own labor alone or with the assistance of members of his household, or hired employees.

A "farm operator," according to the census definition, is a person who operates a farm, either performing the labor himself or directly supervising it. Therefore, the number of farm operators is identical with the number of farms.

Farm operators are classified into three general classes according to the tenure under which they operate their farms, as follows:

1. Owners own all or part of the land which they operate. Separate figures are shown for two types of owners, namely, full owners and part-owners. Full owners own all of the land they operate. Part-owners own a part and rent from others the rest of the land they operate.

2. Managers operate farms for others and receive wages or salaries for their services. Persons acting merely as caretakers or hired as laborers are not classified as managers.

3. Tenants operate hired or rented land only. Figures for the Southern States cover two classes of tenants - croppers and other tenants. Croppers are defined as share tenants, the principal distinguishing feature of the tenure being that the work animals are furnished by the landlord. Other tenants comprise all those who rent under other conditions or types of agreement.

Probably the most unsatisfactory feature of the census definitions is that they fail to take any account of the degree of independence of the farmer. For example, the rich 40-acre bottom-land "farm" worked by a sharecropper, ploughed, planted, cultivated, and harvested according to the landlord's instructions and under his own or his representative's supervision, although it is really only one unit in a much larger agricultural "plant," is defined and counted by the census as a separate "farm." The cropper himself is defined and counted as a "farmer." In the barren hills not so many miles away lives a farm owner who takes orders from no one - ploughing, planting, cultivating, harvesting, and selling according to his own best judgment. He is counted as another farmer, and his place is reported as a farm unit along with each of the 5 to 100 units included in a single Delta plantation. From one point of view any enumeration of manufacturing establishments which regarded every machine tender as a "manufacturer" and every machine as a "factory" would probably be considered nonsense. As figures of speech go, the comparisons of factory with plantation, and of manufacturer with real farm operator, represent no serious exaggeration. In any significant sense the typical plantation is a single farming unit, regardless of the number of small tracts into which it may be broken for operating purposes; and it is run by a single authority, regardless of the number of wage hands or croppers who may be living upon it.

From another point of view, however, the most menial member of the plantation staff is strictly comparable not only with the owner or tenant who independently operates his place, but with the plantation owner himself; both are human beings who are born, reared, go to school, leave home, marry, rear children, and eventually pass on to their final rewards. Landlord and cropper, owner and renter, all are social beings who are members of groups and participants in social relationships of various types from earliest childhood until the end of life. It is largely from this social point of view, the approach of the sociologist, that we tackle our problem. And for this reason we do not hesitate to make comparisons which, if this manner of thinking about people and how they behave is unfamiliar, may strike you as illogical.

In outline form, the various categories that we shall utilize are as follows:

I. Owner

- A. Landlord
- B. Full owner
- C. Part-owner

II. Non-owner

- A. Tenant
 - 1. Renter
 - 2. Sharecropper or cropper
- B. Farm laborer, or wage hand

The census definition of "farm" has been adhered to simply as a basis for comparing the amounts of land held or operated by the various tenure classes. But the general tenure categories of the census are too broad to be useful in our study. Accordingly, farm land "owners" have been subdivided into three classes: (1) the "landlord" rents to others enough agricultural land to constitute a farm, and it is immaterial whether or not he himself lives in the open country or operates additional land; (2) the "full owner" operates only the farm land which he himself owns and he rents none of his holdings to others; (3) the "part-owner" owns some farm land, rents additional farm land from others, and operates any part or all of the farm land he owns and rents. To be classified as a landlord a man needs merely to own farm land - he need not operate an acre of it. To be regarded as either a full owner, or a part-owner, however, he must actually operate a farm. The term "owner" may be used occasionally to designate only the "full owners" rather than all three types of owners, especially when comparisons are being made between landlord, full owner, and part-owner. This liberty is taken for the sake of simplicity, and should cause no confusion, for the context shows whether the broader or narrower meaning of the term is involved. A further justification for this practice is found in the fact that writers and speakers on the subject of farm tenancy generally have in mind the "full owner" when they talk about "ownership" as the most desirable tenure status.

We are contrasting the broad category of "owner" with the category of "non-owner," but for our purposes "non-owner" includes not only tenants of all types but farm laborers. The degree of independence exercised by the typical farm laborer does not differ significantly from that exercised by many a sharecropper. Furthermore, the farm laborer represents the bottom rung, or first step, on the agricultural ladder and, therefore, should be included in any attempt to give a complete picture of the agricultural ladder and its functioning. Census usage has been followed with respect to the definitions of "tenant" and of "sharecropper," but "renter" for our purposes includes all tenants other than sharecroppers. A "farm laborer" receives payment for his services in the form of wages, and he works under the direct supervision of his employer, differing in the latter respect from the manager. Inasmuch as managers constitute a very small proportion of all farmers they have been excluded from consideration entirely.

A third classification, within the category of non-owner, one which we use because of its importance from a social point of view, is based upon kinship of the non-owner to his landlord or employer. This classification is as follows:

III. Non-owner

A. Related non-owner (Relative is landlord or employer)

1. Related tenant

- a. Related renter
- b. Related sharecropper or cropper
- 2. Unrelated farm laborer, laborer, or wage hand

Again following census usage, the landlord or employer is considered as a relative if he is one of the following: the farmer's or the farmer's wife's parent, grandparent, brother, or sister. For some purposes, only the two broad categories, related non-owner and unrelated non-owner, are compared. For other purposes, when the sub-groups are large enough, the comparisons involve related and unrelated renters, croppers, and farm laborers.

We use the general term "farmer" to mean all heads of families whom we interviewed, regardless of tenure or sex (5.1 percent of the total being women), including some individuals in the landlord category who were not actually living on a farm (3.9 percent of the total) and a very few landlords who were neither operating nor working on a farm (1.3 percent of the sample).

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

The terms "Corn Belt farmers" and "Northern farmers" are used practically interchangeably to refer to those men and women who supplied information from the Corn Belt States.

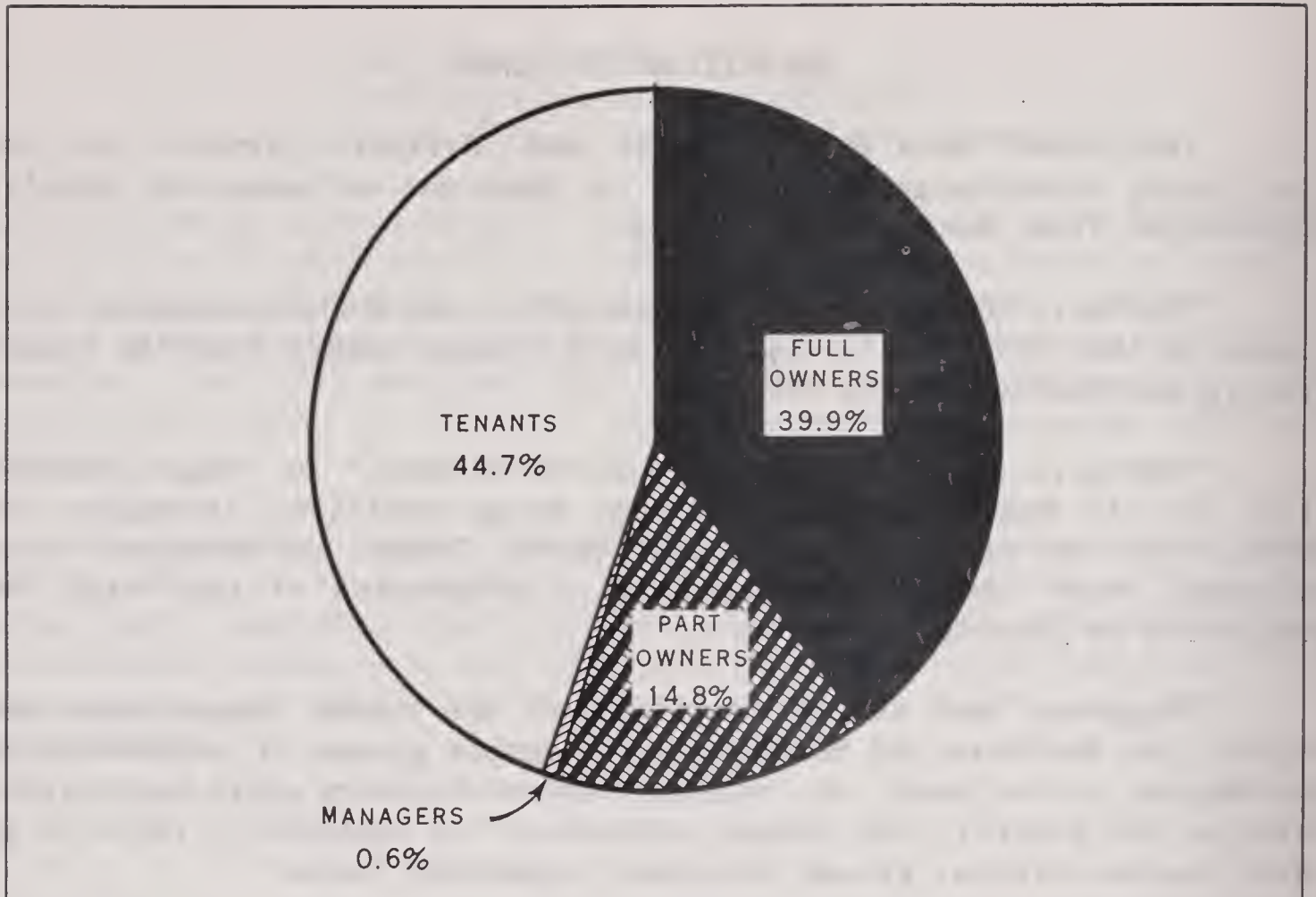
"Southern white farmers" include all of the white informants interviewed in the Cotton Belt, together with a small number from the tobacco area in northeastern North Carolina.

"Southern Negro farmers," "colored farmers," or "Negro farmers" refer to all Negro informants, these being scattered throughout the South, with the exception of Collin County, Texas, and Beckham County, Oklahoma, where they formed too small a proportion of the total farm population to justify inclusion.

"Regional and racial comparisons" are those comparisons made between the Northern and Southern white sample groups or between whites and Negroes in the South, or, rarely, between Northern white and Southern farmers. The general term "sample population" is employed to refer to the three regional-racial groups discussed separately above.

The term "local area" signifies the specific territory investigated by the field workers on this study, each local area consisting of one or more townships, beats, wards, or other minor civil divisions in the various counties mentioned earlier in this chapter. Four "local areas" were studied in the North and ten in the South. Of the latter, two involved white informants only and eight involved white and Negro informants in the ratio that white and Negro tenants contributed to the total farm population in the respective counties.

You will recall an earlier reference (p. 3) to the need for a schedule to keep the questions asked and the answers secured as nearly comparable as possible. It was found that inclusion in a single schedule of all the questions to which answers were desired would have resulted either in too slow progress or in interviewing too few farmers to obtain a sample of the desired size. Therefore, from the total schedule, known as the "long schedule," certain questions were selected to form a "short schedule."

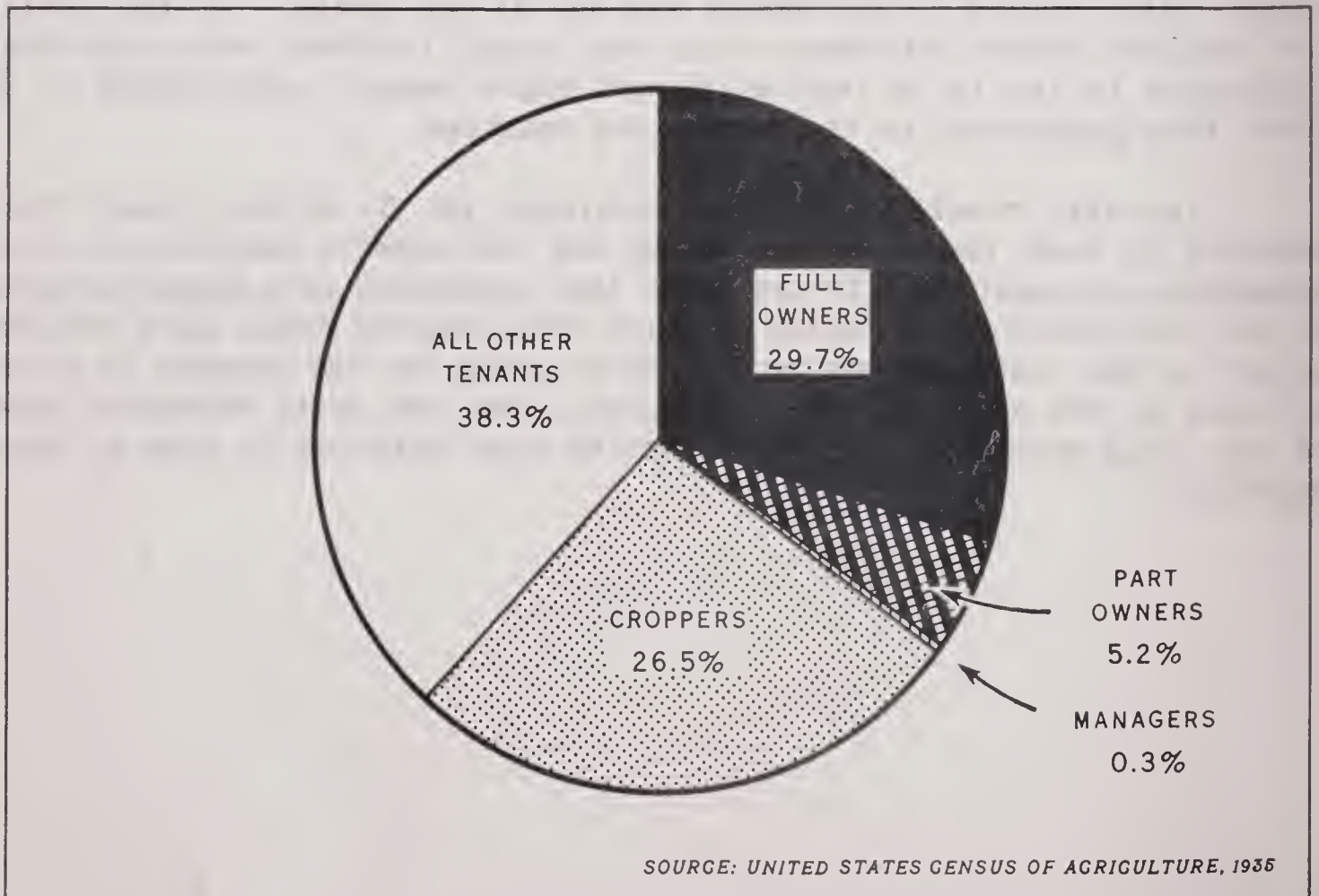


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FIGURE 31.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NORTHERN FARMERS BY TENURE.



SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1935

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FIGURE 32.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COTTON BELT FARMERS BY TENURE.



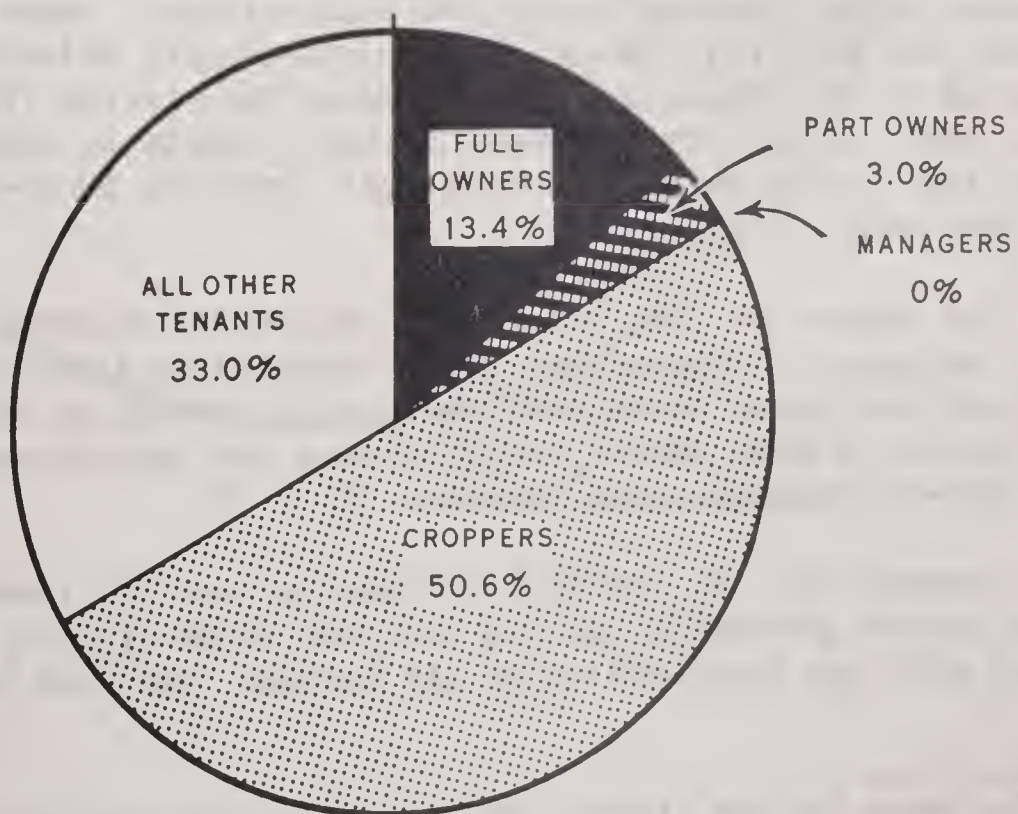
SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1935

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 32622

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FIGURE 33.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE COTTON BELT FARMERS BY TENURE.



SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1935

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 32623

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FIGURE 34.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO COTTON BELT FARMERS BY TENURE.

METHODOLOGY

In view of the wide range of data desired and the limited time available for securing all the information, it was thought best to secure a sample within the sample. Accordingly, after the schedule form had been agreed upon, those sections which seemed most likely to yield significantly novel findings were combined into what was known as the "Short Schedule," comprising the first six pages of the "Long Schedule." This Short Schedule represented the minimum information to be secured from each family enumerated. The remaining sections of the schedule taken together with the Short Schedule comprised the Long Schedule, which was to be used in cases selected at random from 20 percent of the total sample.

To assure representativeness of the Long Schedule sample with respect to the Short Schedule sample, instructions were given to field workers that every fifth schedule taken was to be a Long Schedule regardless of the tenure or other characteristics of the family encountered. On the basis of comparisons made between these two groups with respect to tenure, informant's age, education, gross income, and duration of farm occupancy, it is safe to say that the Long Schedule population is fairly representative of the Short Schedule population.

It was estimated that about 2,700 schedules could be secured within the time limits imposed and the funds available. Type of farming was decided upon as the basis for determining the extent of the areas to be sampled. It was agreed, furthermore, that the sample taken should be confined to those types of farming areas which contributed most heavily, both relatively and absolutely, to agricultural tenantry. The Cotton Belt and the Corn Belt being thus automatically selected, it was later determined that a single local area should be secured from the Flue-cured Tobacco Area in the southeastern States. Lists of counties which constitute the Cotton Belt, the Corn Belt, and the Flue-cured Tobacco Regions were made up. 39/

The number of farm operators, white and colored, by tenure (full owners, managers, croppers, and other tenants) as given in the 1935 Census of Agriculture data, were then determined county by county so that the total number in each tenure class by race was determined for each of the three type-of-farming areas involved (Fig. 35).

Inasmuch as the central problem was one of tenantry rather than of farm tenure generally, it was decided to secure the schedules in accordance with the distribution of all tenants. On this basis 25.8 percent

39/ The basis for the classification of the counties was the mimeographed "Lists of County Names by Type of Farming Areas" prepared by the Division of Program Planning of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.



SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1935

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 32619

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FIGURE 35.- PERCENTAGES OF ALL TENANTS IN VARIOUS TYPES OF FARMING AREAS.

of the total 2,700 schedules (697) were allotted to the Corn Belt. In the South it was decided to deal with the two races separately, and to secure schedules from Negroes and from white operators proportionately to the numbers of Negro and white tenants and croppers in the entire region. On this basis 40.1 percent of the total number of schedules (1,083) were to be secured from white farmers, and 30.2 percent (815) from Negro farmers.

The total number of schedules to be taken in the Tobacco Area, following the same principle, would have been 105, or 3.9 percent of the total number of schedules. Because this number was regarded as somewhat small for adequate representation of a single local area, the total number of schedules to be taken from the Tobacco Area was raised to 150. This expansion, that is 45 schedules, was compensated for by a corresponding reduction in the total number to be taken in the Cotton Belt, thus not affecting the total number of schedules to be taken in the South.

The method of distributing the ascertained number of schedules throughout the various States and sub-regions included in the areas to be investigated may now be taken up. The problem was treated in the Corn Belt in a purely arbitrary manner, the total number being simply divided by the number of local area samples to be taken (four), thus allotting 174 schedules per local area.

In the Corn Belt, however, it was thought necessary to take into consideration the marked differences between the southeastern and the southwestern sub-regions. Since the boundaries of the latter area could be placed most conveniently by following State lines, Oklahoma and Texas were set apart for treatment as a separate unit. Accordingly, the proportion of white and colored tenants and croppers reported within this unit as compared with the entire Cotton Belt was determined, with the result that 15.4 percent (416) and 3.4 percent (92) of the total number of Cotton Belt schedules were to be taken from white and Negro farmers respectively in this area.

Within the remaining Cotton Belt States it was thought practically impossible to develop quickly a satisfactory, objective method of allocating the schedules to be taken. In order to give proper weight to the various types of sociologically homogeneous areas to be investigated, it was necessary to go beyond readily available census data. As the simplest solution, if not the most desirable, the total number of schedules to be taken was divided by the total number of local areas to be studied. This procedure led to the allotment of 224 schedules for each of six local areas in the southeastern States, including Louisiana and Arkansas. Within each local area or sample rural community, the number of schedules to be taken from Negroes and from whites varied

according to their numbers in the total tenantry of the county involved. Within each State from which schedules were taken the selection of the county and township to be studied was left as largely as possible to the judgment of the proper State Agricultural Experiment Station officials and staff members. In each case the objectives of the study were explained as fully as possible and an opportunity was given for specifying the county and minor civil division to be investigated. The criteria suggested as a basis for the making of such selections are as follows:

1. The local area should be representative of a significant portion of the Cotton Belt as a whole.
2. It should have not less than, and preferably considerably above, the average proportion of tenantry.
3. It should be homogeneous as far as possible with respect to general agricultural conditions.
4. The minor civil division should be entirely within the sphere of influence of a single trade center or community: if not the specified number of schedules preferably should be secured within some portion of the minor civil division entirely within the sphere of influence of a single community.
5. The local area selected should not be one which had recently been studied because of the possible biasing influence of such previous investigations.
6. It was desired to secure the schedules from areas which in general had lower proportions of part-time farmers than the average.
7. It was hoped that the local areas selected would be almost completely open country in order to avoid in general the influence of neighboring urban conditions.

Where specific suggestions from Experiment Station officials were not received in time to permit the most rapid completion of the work, another procedure was used. Special census data by minor civil divisions were secured for each of the counties agreed upon. On the basis of these tabulations, it was possible to determine in advance whether or not a particular minor civil division contained at least the minimum number of operators, white and colored, and to determine whether the proportions of part-time farmers, tenants and croppers, whites and Negroes, were suitable. Hence, it was possible to make tentative selections before actually entering the field, but final selection was not made until there had been first-hand local examination to make sure that no undesirable disturbing factors were present.

The list of States, counties, and minor civil divisions in which schedules were taken is as follows:

<u>Type-of-Farming Area</u> <u>and State</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Minor Civil</u> <u>Division</u>	<u>Race of In-</u> <u>formants</u>
<u>Corn Belt</u>			
Illinois	McLean	Randolph Township	W
Iowa	Jones	Wyoming and Jackson Townships	W
Missouri	Gentry	Jackson Township	W
Ohio	Mercer	Black Creek Township	W
<u>Cotton Belt</u>			
Alabama	Hale	Beats 5 and 9	W & N
Arkansas	Jefferson	Melton Township	W & N
Louisiana	Red River Parish	Wards 4 and 6	W & N
North Carolina	Union	Sandy Ridge	W & N
Oklahoma	Beckham	Sayre and adjacent Townships	W
South Carolina	Greenville	Gantt Township	W & N
Tennessee	Crockett	District 10	W & N
Texas	Collin	Precinct 6	W
Texas	Nacogdoches	Precincts 1 and 6	W & N
<u>Flue-cured Tobacco</u>			
North Carolina	Wilson	Toisnot Township	W & N

The present study, because of its emphasis upon subjective data, involves a much more serious problem with respect to the personal interaction involved between interviewer and informant than is usually the case. In other words, it was evident from the outset that great care would have to be taken to guarantee sincerity of response on the part of the farmers if the data were to be regarded as at all useful. Accordingly, it was determined that Negro enumerators exclusively should be employed for taking schedules from Negro farmers and white enumerators exclusively from white farmers.

To assure the smoothest operation of this bi-racial field organization, it was necessary to secure competent Negro supervisors of the field work. This plan was followed with what is believed were completely gratifying results.

Cooperation between colored and white crews, colored and white supervisors, between local officials both white and colored and field representatives, was thoroughly satisfactory.

EVALUATION OF SAMPLE

The foregoing description indicates the method whereby the total planned number of schedules, 2,700, was to have been taken. Certain deviations from these plans subsequently became necessary, because of the abnormally heavy rainfall throughout most of the Southeast during the winter of 1936-37.

The most serious deviation from the planned distribution of schedules occurred in the case of white operators in the South. But it is not thought that any serious difficulty of interpretation should arise because of this discrepancy. The chief objective of this study is not the representation of regional or racial groups as components of a larger totality, but rather the comparison of tenure classes within and between regional and racial groups. Accordingly, the net result of under-representation on the part of whites is merely a smaller base on which to make comparisons between Cotton Belt whites and other groups.

To ascertain the representativeness of the sample with respect to tenure classes, the following procedure was undertaken.

First, the cases were classified with respect to proportion of time spent in farming, that is, full-time farmers, part-time farmers, and those who owned land but spent no time as farm operators. The total number of individuals in this last category in the Corn Belt was thirteen, or 1.9 percent of the total. Among Southern whites it was eighteen or 2 percent, and among Negroes there were none.

In the editing process, a small proportion of the total number of schedules taken had been rejected. These included schedules taken from farm managers, from family laborers, that is, unpaid heads of families working for parents, and a small number of informants who were neither farm operators nor operators of farm land, at least not of enough to justify their designation as farmers in conformity with the Census definition. The total number of schedules rejected was 49 or 2 percent of the total number taken, which was 2,472.

Second, for purposes of comparison, farm laborers were excluded from the computation inasmuch as these are not included among farm operators in the Census data. This reduces the number of cases in the Corn Belt to 606, to 823 among Southern whites, and to 753 among the Negroes. The percentage distribution of sample and statistical universe are similar, but there is a consistent tendency for slight over-representation among the farm-owning groups and under-representation among the non-owning groups (Fig. 36).

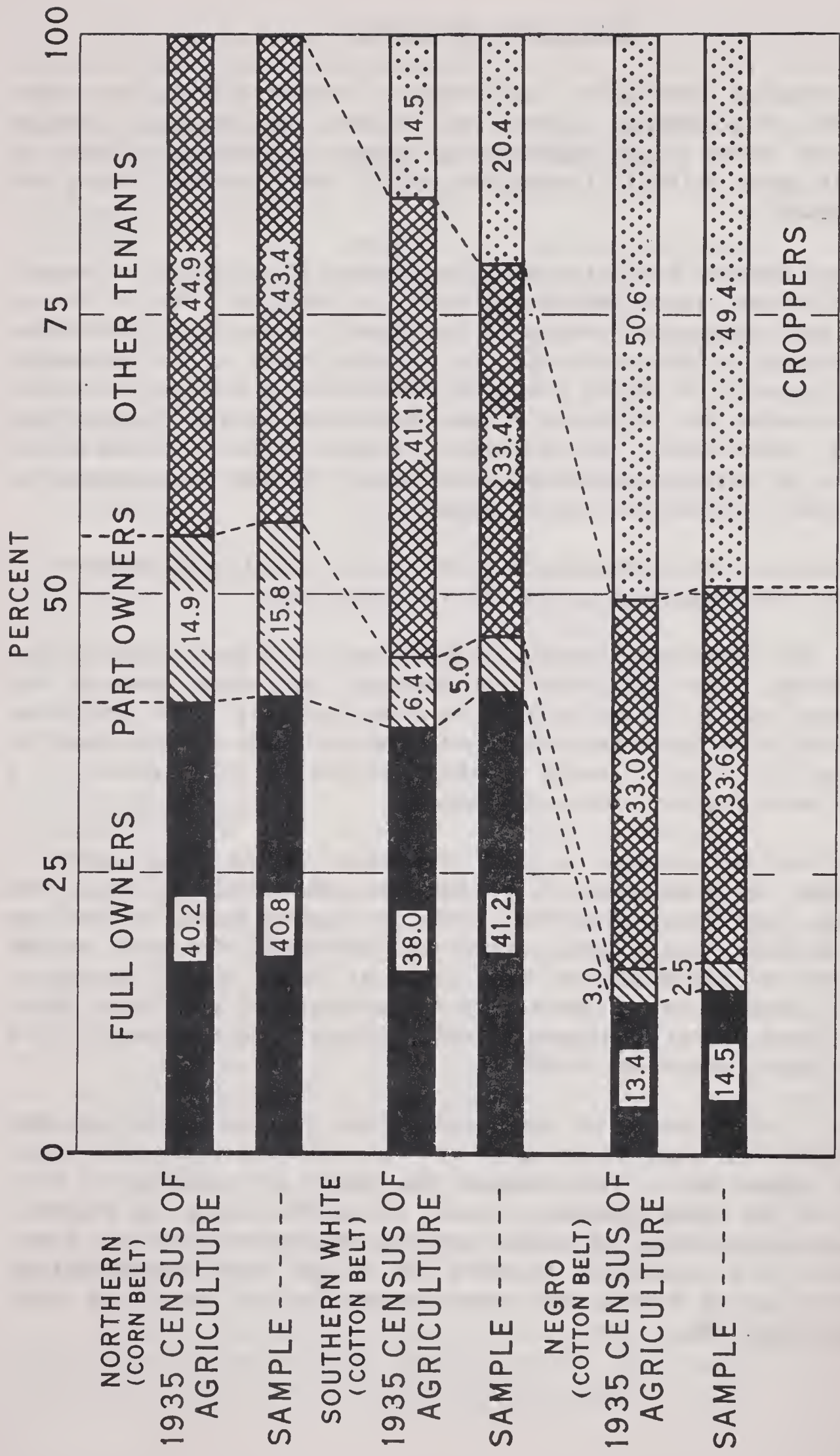


FIGURE 36.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FARM OPERATORS IN STATISTICAL UNIVERSE, ACCORDING TO 1935 CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, AND IN SAMPLE.

Table 131.- Tenure distribution of (A) all schedules utilized and of (B) long schedules utilized by local areas

A. Northern

Class tenure	Sample		Mercer		McLean		Gentry		Jones	
	population		:		:		:		:	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Total number of cases	687	138	169	30	166	35	177	37	175	36
Landlords	110	23	25	7	22	5	25	5	38	6
Full owners	149	24	50	3	22	4	41	8	36	9
Part-owners	96	16	29	1	19	3	27	7	21	5
Renters, related	67	15	16	4	11	4	22	2	18	5
Renters, not related	180	44	30	9	66	17	45	11	39	7
Croppers, related	10	-	5	-	3	-	1	-	1	-
Croppers, not related	6	2	5	2	-	-	1	-	-	-
Farm laborers, related	9	1	3	-	5	-	-	-	1	1
Farm laborers, not related	60	13	6	4	18	2	15	4	21	3

B. Southern white

Class tenure	Sample		Beckham		Wilson		Greenville		Hale		Union		Jefferson		Crockett		Parish		Nacogdoches		Collin	
	population		:		:		:		:		:		:		:		:		:		:	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Total number of cases	894	138	100	19	85	15	72	14	35	7	158	21	36	7	121	10	72	5	115	22	101	18
Landlords	195	24	6	4	19	4	17	3	11	3	37	4	14	3	25	2	18	3	34	2	14	3
Full owners	162	29	23	1	8	3	15	1	6	2	41	8	7	2	26	4	2	-	21	2	13	1
Part-owners	41	5	1	-	1	-	14	1	6	-	4	1	1	-	8	2	-	-	2	1	4	-
Renters, related	62	11	7	-	4	-	3	1	2	-	10	1	2	-	13	-	-	-	12	3	9	5
Renters, not related	213	40	10	1	10	1	15	6	6	1	28	5	5	1	21	1	15	-	37	11	32	4
Croppers, related	37	1	2	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	9	-	7	-	3	1	2	-
Croppers, not related	131	20	12	4	29	6	7	3	1	-	27	2	1	-	18	2	18	2	4	1	14	2
Farm laborers, related	6	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-
Farm laborers, not related	47	7	3	-	2	-	1	-	3	1	7	-	6	1	1	1	10	-	2	1	12	3

C. Negro

Class tenure	Sample		Wilson		Greenville		Hale		Union		Jefferson		Crockett		Parish		Nacogdoches	
	population		:		:		:		:		:		:		:		:	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Total number of cases	842	167	51	10	74	16	190	35	59	11	191	40	47	9	152	30	78	16
Landlords	32	11	1	1	3	-	5	1	-	-	7	5	4	1	-	-	12	3
Full owners	77	17	9	2	6	-	7	1	6	1	24	7	4	-	3	-	18	4
Part-owners	19	6	3	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	-	-	5	3
Renters, related	18	1	-	-	2	-	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	10	1
Renters, not related	235	39	1	-	21	5	79	12	12	3	37	7	11	1	53	7	21	4
Croppers, related	18	6	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	6	2	5	1	3	2	1	1
Croppers, not related	354	68	30	5	31	4	83	19	41	7	88	16	16	4	55	13	10	-
Farm laborers, related	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Farm laborers, not related	87	19	7	1	11	5	1	1	-	-	25	3	5	1	38	8	-	-

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express his grateful appreciation for the loyalty and generosity with which members of the staff, in spite of numerous obstacles, carried on their work. Particular mention should be made of George O. Butler, Sam R Carter, Douglas Ensminger, Claude Frederick, Charles G. Gomillion, and Marianne Sherman. J. L. Charlton rendered valuable aid in the editing, coding, and transcription of the schedules. Appreciation is also expressed to the many members of State Experiment Station, college, and university staffs, and to social scientists in various branches of the Federal Government, who assisted in the formulation of the project, preparation of the schedule, and the collection and analysis of the data. The writer's obligations to Carl C. Taylor and Lowry Nelson, together with other members of the Social Research Section, require specific acknowledgment.

S T R I C T L Y C O N F I D E N T I A L

RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION
Social Correlatives of Farm Tenure
11/24/36

I. Identification

D. TENURE CLASS

- ☐ 1. Landlord
- ☐ 2. Part owner
- ☐ 3. Owner operator
Free of mortgage
- ☐ 4. Owner operator
Mortgaged
- ☐ 5. Renter
Landlord related
- ☐ 6. Renter
Landlord unrelated
- ☐ 7. Cropper
Landlord related
- ☐ 8. Cropper
Landlord unrelated
- ☐ 9. Farm laborer
Employer related
- ☐ 10. Farm laborer
Employer unrelated
- ☐ 11. Family laborer
No wages paid

A. SUPERVISOR'S SCHEDULE NO.: _____

B. RACE

- ☐ 1. White
- ☐ 2. Negro
- ☐ 3. Mexican
- ☐ 4. Indian
- ☐ 5. Other: _____

C. OCCUPATION

- ☐ 1. Farmer, full time
- ☐ 2. Farmer, part time
a. Days during past year
on jobs not connected
with this farm: _____
- b. Specify type of work
Involved in "a": _____
- ☐ 3. Other than farmer
a. Specify: _____

E. HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD (Surname first): _____

F. RESIDENCE	(a) Place of Birth	(b) Present Address
1. State/country		
2. County		
3. P.O. Address		
4. Street or R.F.D. No.		
5.	() 1. Farm () 2. Non Farm	() 1. Farm () 2. Non Farm

G. Schedule Completed: Month _____ Day _____ Year: 1936 _____ 1937 _____

ENUMERATOR'S SIGNATURE: _____

EDITOR'S SIGNATURE: _____

II. TENURE AND MIGRATION HISTORY

(8) Tenure History

[illegible]

C. Have you ever rec'd. any land/cash (incl. bonuses) by gift, mar., or inher.?		No	Yes	If so, report year(s)
& value(s)	Year			
at that time.	Value			

(E) Migration History

[illegible]

Code: A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L	M	N	P	Q	Q	R
---------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

III. FARM TENURE AND RELATED QUESTIONS

1. Compared with the average family in this neighborhood, do you think your family is () a-better off; () b-about the same as the average; () c-worse off? 3.
2. In what respects? _____
3. What class of people around here do you think is worst off? _____
4. What do you think causes them to be worst off? _____
5. Do you think you would be better off if your farm were bigger? Yes ? No
6. Do you think your present farming practices are () a-improving the soil on this farm; () b-not affecting its fertility; () c-harming it?
7. How, or in what way? _____
8. Are you satisfied with your present credit arrangements? Yes ? No
9. If not, what one change would you like to make? () a-lower the interest rate; () b-extend the period for repayment; () c-increase maximum amount of credit; () d-other: _____
10. Would you rather farm than do anything else for a living? Yes ? No
11. Do you wish you had had more schooling? Yes ? No
12. How much schooling do you think a son ought to have? () a-grade school; () b-high-school; () c-college; () d-uncertain; () e-other: _____
13. If you had your choice what would you prefer to have a son do for a living? () a-have no preference; () b-farm; () c-other than farm; () d-uncertain.
14. If your choice is "farm", would you prefer for him to be a farm owner? Yes ? No
15. Why, or why not? _____
16. Do you think the Government ought to help him to become a farm owner? Yes ? No
17. Do you think a son should be willing to sacrifice some conveniences to become a farm owner? Yes ? No
18. The number of farm tenants in the U. S. has been increasing for a good many years. Do you think the Government ought to do anything about it? Yes ? No
19. If so, what? _____

QUESTIONS 20 AND 21 APPLY ONLY TO FARM OWNERS:

20. Do you feel better off, from a business point of view, as a farm owner than you did before you became one? Yes ? No
21. Do you think people respect you more as a farm owner than they would if you were a renter? Yes ? No
22. Do you favor that part of the AAA program whereby the Government pays farmers to reduce their crop acreage? Yes ? No
23. Why, or why not? _____
24. Do you favor that part of the Soil Conservation program whereby the Government pays farmers for conserving or improving soil fertility? Yes ? No
25. Why, or why not? _____
26. Do you favor that part of the Resettlement Administration program whereby the Government helps needy farmers "to get on their feet"? Yes ? No
27. Why, or why not? _____
28. Do you favor that part of the Farm Credit Administration program whereby the Government makes loans to farmers? Yes ? No
29. Why, or why not? _____
30. If you inherited \$500 today, what would you do with it? _____

IV, a. LANDLORD-TENANT/EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE RELATIONSHIPS

(Form for tenant/employee)

1. Do you and your landlord/employer have a written agreement? Yes ? No
2. For how long (altogether) does your agreement (written or not) run?

<input type="checkbox"/> Less than one year	<input type="checkbox"/> Four years
<input type="checkbox"/> One year	<input type="checkbox"/> Five years
<input type="checkbox"/> Two years	<input type="checkbox"/> Over five years
<input type="checkbox"/> Three years	<input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
3. If you had the chance, would you make any changes in your renting agreement? Yes ? No
4. If so, what changes would you make?

<input type="checkbox"/> a-More supervision of tenant in operation of farm.	<input type="checkbox"/> g-Automatically renewable lease, with notification clause.
<input type="checkbox"/> b-Less supervision of tenant in operation of farm.	<input type="checkbox"/> h-Increase tenant's share of crops/livestock.
<input type="checkbox"/> c-Written rental agreement.	<input type="checkbox"/> i-Increase landlord's share of crops/livestock.
<input type="checkbox"/> d-Payment guaranteed to tenant for his improvement of farm.	<input type="checkbox"/> j-Other: _____
<input type="checkbox"/> e-Payment guaranteed to landlord for damages done to farm.	
<input type="checkbox"/> f-Longer term for lease.	
5. Have you had a disagreement with your landlord/employer during the past year? Yes ? No
6. If so, what did you do about it?

<input type="checkbox"/> a-Personal negotiation ("talked it over").	<input type="checkbox"/> c-Took it to court.
<input type="checkbox"/> b-Submitted it to arbitration, formal or informal.	<input type="checkbox"/> d-Other: _____
7. Did you get any outside advice or financial assistance? Yes ? No
8. If so, which, & from whom? ☐ Advice ☐ Financial assistance: _____
9. Does your landlord/employer have any control over your operating credit? Yes ? No
10. If so, in what respects?

<input type="checkbox"/> a-Sets maximum amount of credit available	<input type="checkbox"/> d-Practically decides what you can afford to buy.
<input type="checkbox"/> b-Provides operating credit	<input type="checkbox"/> e-Other: _____
<input type="checkbox"/> c-Fixes interest rate	
11. Does your landlord/employer "stand good" for your debts? Yes ? No
12. Do you intend to remain on this farm next year? Yes ? No
13. Why or why not? _____
14. Do you think you would run this farm any differently if you owned it? Yes ? No
15. If so, what would you do differently? _____
16. Do you think you would feel better off if you owned this farm, but had a mortgage on it? Yes ? No
17. Do you think owners generally feel better off than renters? Yes ? No
18. Are you seriously looking forward to owning a farm? Yes ? No
19. Would you say that your prospects of owning a farm in the next five years are: () a-good; () b-fair; () c-poor?
20. Would you like to buy this farm? Yes ? No
21. If not, would you like to buy some other farm? Yes ? No
22. If so, how big a farm would you like to buy? _____ acres.
23. Would you want any help or advice in finding a suitable farm? Yes ? No
24. Would you want any advice from your creditor in running your farm? Yes ? No
25. What price would you have to pay for such a farm? \$ _____
26. How much could you pay down on the purchase price? \$ _____
27. How big a loan would you need? \$ _____
28. How many years would you need to repay the loan? _____ Years.
29. What do you think would be a fair rate of interest? _____ %
30. In general, what does your landlord/employer have to say about your farming operations?

<input type="checkbox"/> a-Leaves decision entirely up to you. (If this response is checked, omit remaining questions.)
<input type="checkbox"/> b-Simply discusses the problems with you.
<input type="checkbox"/> c-Usually suggests what you should do, but does not command.
<input type="checkbox"/> d-Gives strict orders, tells you what to do, and how to do it.
<input type="checkbox"/> e-Other: _____
31. How often does your landlord/employer or his representative come to the farm and discuss your farming operations with you?

<input type="checkbox"/> a-Daily	<input type="checkbox"/> d-Every two weeks	<input type="checkbox"/> g-Several times a year
<input type="checkbox"/> b-Several times a week	<input type="checkbox"/> e-Every three weeks	<input type="checkbox"/> h-Never
<input type="checkbox"/> c-Every week	<input type="checkbox"/> f-Every month	<input type="checkbox"/> i-Other: _____
32. Which of the following topics are taken up?

<input type="checkbox"/> a-How much fertilizer to buy/where to put it.	<input type="checkbox"/> i-How early/late you should work during the day.
<input type="checkbox"/> b-When/where to plant crops.	<input type="checkbox"/> j-Whether you should work off the farm for pay.
<input type="checkbox"/> c-How often/how deep to cultivate.	<input type="checkbox"/> k-Whether children should go to school.
<input type="checkbox"/> d-What to raise beside cash crops.	<input type="checkbox"/> l-Whether wife/children should work in fields.
<input type="checkbox"/> e-Whether/how large to make a garden.	
<input type="checkbox"/> f-Whether terracing/gully repairing/drainage are to be done.	
<input type="checkbox"/> g-How to care for/use work animals.	
<input type="checkbox"/> h-Whether to buy a car.	

IV b. LANDLORD-TENANT/EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE RELATIONSHIPS
(Form for landlord/employer)

Type of U
Ten/Emp.: R _____

1. Do you and your tenant/employee have a written agreement? Yes ? No
2. For how long (altogether) does your agreement run? (whether written or not)
- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> a-Less than one year. | <input type="checkbox"/> d-Three years. | <input type="checkbox"/> g-Over five years. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> b-One year. | <input type="checkbox"/> e-Four years. | <input type="checkbox"/> h-Other: _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> c-Two years. | <input type="checkbox"/> f-Five years. | |
3. If you had the chance, would you make any changes in your renting agreement? Yes ? No
4. If so, what changes would you make?
- | |
|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> a-MORE supervision of tenant in operation of farm. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> b-LESS supervision of tenant in operation of farm. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> c-Written rental agreement. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> d-Payment guaranteed to tenant for his improvement of farm. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> e-Payment guaranteed to landlord for damages done to farm. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> f-Longer term for lease. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> g-Automatically renewable lease, with notification clause. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> h-Increase tenant's share of crops/livestock. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> i-Increase landlord's share of crops/livestock. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> j-Other: _____ |
5. Have you had a disagreement with your tenant-employee during the past year? Yes ? No
6. If so, what did you do about it?
- | |
|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> a-Personal negotiation ("talked it over"). |
| <input type="checkbox"/> b-Submitted it to arbitration, formal or informal. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> c-Took it to court. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> d-Other: _____ |
7. Did you get any outside advice or financial assistance? Yes ? No
8. If so, which, & from whom? ☐ Advice ☐ Financial assistance: _____
9. Do you have any control over the operating credit of your tenant/employee? Yes ? No
10. If so, in what respects?
- | |
|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> a-Set maximum amount of credit available. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> b-Provide operating credit. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> c-Fix interest rate. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> d-Practically decide what he can afford to buy. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> e-Other: _____ |
11. Do you "stand good" for the debts of your tenant/employee? Yes ? No
.....
30. In general, what do you have to say about the farming operations of your ten./emp.?
- | |
|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> a-Leave decisions entirely up to him. (If this response is checked, omit remaining questions.) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> b-Simply discuss the problems with him. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> c-Usually suggest what he should do, but do not command. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> d-Give strict orders, tell him what to do, and how to do it. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> e-Other: _____ |
31. How often do you or your representative come to the farm and discuss the farming operations of your tenant/employee with him?
- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> a-Daily | <input type="checkbox"/> d-Every two weeks | <input type="checkbox"/> g-Several times a year |
| <input type="checkbox"/> b-Several times a week | <input type="checkbox"/> e-Every three weeks | <input type="checkbox"/> h-Never |
| <input type="checkbox"/> c-Every week | <input type="checkbox"/> f-Every month | <input type="checkbox"/> i-Other: _____ |
32. Which of the following topics are taken up?
- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> a-How much fertilizer to buy/where put it. | <input type="checkbox"/> g-How to care for/use work animals. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> b-When/where to plant crops. | <input type="checkbox"/> h-Whether to buy a car. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> c-How often/how deep to cultivate. | <input type="checkbox"/> i-How early/late he should work during the day. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> d-What to raise beside cash crops. | <input type="checkbox"/> j-Whether he should work off the farm for pay. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> e-Whether/how large to make a garden. | <input type="checkbox"/> k-Whether his children should go to school. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> f-Whether terracing/gully repairing/drainage are to be done. | <input type="checkbox"/> l-Whether his wife/children should work in fields. |

V. HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION AND CHARACTERISTICS

Line No.	(A) Members of Household		(B)		(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)	(H) Schooling		(J) Age at first marriage	(K) Mate's		(L) Tenure	
	Name	Relation to Head of Household	Sex	Age at last birthday	Living at home	Age at which left home	Grades completed		At-tending now	Occupation	Tenure					
							com-pleted									
1.		Head of Household	M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R
2.			M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R
3.			M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R
4.			M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R
5.			M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R
6.			M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R
7.			M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R
8.			M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R
9.			M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R
10.			M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R
11.			M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R
12.			M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R
13.			M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R
14.			M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R
15.			M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R
16.			M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R
17.			M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R
18.			M	F	Y	N			Y	N					U	R

Code

A

B

C

D

E

F

G

H

J

K

L

M

N

P

VI. FARM AND TENURE CHARACTERISTICS

	(A) TOTAL OWNED	(B) OWNED RENTED TO OTHERS	(C) OWNED and OPERATED	(D) RENTED and OPERATED	(E) TOTAL OPERATED
1. TOTAL number of acres in FARM					
2. Number of acres of CROP land					
3. No. of acres of PLOWABLE NON-CROP land					
4. No. of acres of OTHER NON-CROP LAND					

5. Which crop covered your largest acreage this year? _____ 6. No. acres covered _____
7. During the past year, what was the largest number you owned at any one time of: _____
8. What was your total Gross Income for 1936 to the nearest \$100: _____

a. Horses & Colts.	
b. Mules & Mule colts.	
c. Oxen.	
d. Beef cattle & Calves.	
e. Dairy cattle & Calves	
f. Goats & kids.	
g. Sheep & lambs	
h. Hogs & pigs	
i. Chickens.	
j. All other fowl.	
k. Hives of bees	

Major Sources of Income	Total Gross Income to Nearest \$100.00
Total	
a. Major crop	
b. Second crop	
c. Livestock	
d. Dairy products	
e. Other farm	
f. Non-farm	

9. Do you have any mortgage indebtedness on farm machinery, livestock or crops? Yes ___ No ___
10. Do you have a definite idea of the value of this farm? Yes ___ No ___ If so, what is the total value of this farm (land and buildings), including farm land and buildings rented from others? \$ _____
11. Do you ordinarily furnish all of the work stock used on the farm? Yes ___ No ___
12. What is your share of the major crop? None ☐ 1/4 ☐ 1/3 ☐ 1/2 ☐ 2/3 ☐ 3/4 ☐ All ☐
13. Ditto for livestock increase or proceeds? ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

QUESTIONS 14 THROUGH 17 APPLY ONLY TO FARM OWNERS.

14. Is there any mortgage debt on the farm land you own? Yes ___ No ___					
15. How many farm laborers do you employ?	White	Related	Negro	Other	Totals
16. To how many croppers do you rent land?					
17. Same for renters other than croppers?					
Totals:					

QUESTION 18 APPLIES ONLY TO NON-FARM OWNERS.

18. Landlord's/employer's name, address, race and relationship to you?
- a. Name of landlord/employer: _____
- b. Address of " " : _____
- c. If absentee Lnd./Em., list name of manager/supervisor: _____
- d. Address of manager/supervisor: _____
- e. Race of landlord/employer: () white () negro () other(specify) .
- f. Relationship of landlord/employer to you: () not related () parent(s)
() grandparent(s) () brother(s) or sister(s).

Code ☐ A ☐ B ☐ C ☐ D ☐ E ☐ F ☐ G ☐ H ☐ I ☐ J ☐ K ☐ L ☐ M

VII. Material Elements in Family Living
(TO BE ANSWERED BY HOUSEWIFE)

A. HOUSING

Now		Prefer to
Have	<u>1. Construction Materials:</u>	Have
<input type="checkbox"/>	a. Brick, Stone, Tile, etc.	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	b. Wood frame, (painted).	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	c. Wood frame, (unpainted).	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	d. Log	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	e. Other _____	

Now		Prefer to
Have	<u>2. Heating System:</u>	Have
<input type="checkbox"/>	a. Furnace	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	b. Heating stove	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	c. Kitchen range	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	d. Fire place	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	e. Other _____	

Now		Prefer to
Have	<u>3. Lighting System:</u>	Have
<input type="checkbox"/>	a. Electricity (power line)	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	b. Electricity (farm plant)	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	c. Gasoline lamps	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	d. Kerosene lamps	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	e. Other _____	

Now		Prefer to
Have	<u>4. Drinking Water Supply:</u>	Have
<input type="checkbox"/>	a. Running Water in house.	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	b. Power-driven pump . . .	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	c. Hand-operated pump . . .	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	d. Open well and bucket. .	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	e. Other _____	

Now		Prefer to
Have	<u>5. Sanitation:</u>	Have
<input type="checkbox"/>	a. Indoor toilet	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	b. Sanitary privy	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	c. Unimproved privy	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	d. No toilet facilities. .	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	e. Other _____	

Now
Have 6. Household Equipment:

<input type="checkbox"/>	a. Kitchen sink with drain) If you could have only one of these things which would you prefer? a b c
<input type="checkbox"/>	b. Running water in house	
<input type="checkbox"/>	c. Indoor toilet	
<input type="checkbox"/>	d. Sewing machine) If you could have only one of these things, which would you prefer? d e f
<input type="checkbox"/>	e. Washing machine	
<input type="checkbox"/>	f. Icebox or refrigerator	
<input type="checkbox"/>	g. Phonograph) If you could have only one of these things, which would you prefer? g h i
<input type="checkbox"/>	h. Organ	
<input type="checkbox"/>	i. Piano	
<input type="checkbox"/>	j. Radio) If you could have only one of these things, which would you prefer? j k
<input type="checkbox"/>	k. Telephone	

7. Number of rooms in house: _____

Now		Prefer
Have	<u>B. PUBL. REGULARLY RECEIVED</u>	to Have
<input type="checkbox"/>	1. None.	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. Newspaper(s), daily	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	3. Newspaper(s), weekly. . . .	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	4. Periodicals, farm	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	5. " , religious.	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	6. " , women's.	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	7. " , Children's	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	8. " , other _____	

Now		Prefer
Have	<u>C. MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION:</u>	to Have
<input type="checkbox"/>	1. None (Walk)	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. Automobile.	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	3. (value of "2":\$ _____)	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	4. Wagon or buggy.	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	5. Two-wheeled Cart.	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	6. Horseback or muleback . . .	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	7. Other _____	

Now		Prefer
Have	<u>D. INSURANCE POLICIES:</u>	to Have
<input type="checkbox"/>	1. None.	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. Life.	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	3. Burial.	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	4. Automobile.	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	5. Crops (hail, etc.).	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	6. Farm Buildings.	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	7. Personal Property	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	8. Other _____	

Now	
Have	<u>E. TYPE OF COMMONLY-USED PUBLIC ROAD</u>
<input type="checkbox"/>	1. Hard-Surface, any type. . .
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. Graded gravel, crushed rock
<input type="checkbox"/>	3. Graded dirt/clay
<input type="checkbox"/>	4. Ungraded dirt/clay.
<input type="checkbox"/>	5. Trail

VIII. FORMALLY ORGANIZED SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

(A) Name or type of organization, club, association, or organized activity.	(B) Exists in the local area? X=Yes	(C) No. of meet- ings	(D) (E) (F) (G) During the past year If one or more members of family belong to this organization:			
			Most freq. attendant went	No. mem. in this family	No. of fices held	Total fees paid
(1) RELIGIOUS:						
1. Church: (give denom.)						
2. Sunday School:						
3. Choir:						
4. Adults' religious organization:						
5. Young peoples's relig. organization:						
6. HI-Y:						
7. Other religious organizations for boys:						
8. Other religious organizations for girls:						
9. Girl Reserves:						
10. Women's Missionary Soc.						
11. Ladies' Aid Society:						
12. Bible study group:						
13. Daily vacation Bible School:						
14. Other religious organizations:						
(2) EDUCATIONAL:						
15. Parent-Teachers Assoc.:						
16. Literary society, book club, reading group, etc.:						
17. Men's agric. extension organiza. or assoc.:						
18. Home demonstra. club or women's agric. ext. org.						
19. Organization for older youth (15-29 years):						
20. Four-H Club: Girls:						
21. Four-H Club: Boys:						
22. Other educa. org. or activity:						

VIII FORMALLY ORGANIZED SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

9

(A) Name or type of organization, club, association, or organized activity.	(B) Exists in the local area? X=Yes	(C) No. of meet- ings	(D) (E) (F) (G) During the past year: If one or more members of family belong to this organization:			
			(D) Most freq. attendant went	(E) No. mem. in this family	(F) No. of fices held	(G) Total fees paid
(3) OCCUPATIONAL: 23. Farmers' Coop. and Educa. Union of America.						
24. American Farm Bureau Federation:						
25. Junior Farm Bureau:						
26. The Grange:						
27. Juvenile Grange:						
28. Farmers' Association:						
29. Farmers' Institute:						
30. Master Farmers of America:						
31. Future Farmers of America:						
32. Home Bureau or Home-Makers' Club:						
33. Tenant, cropper, or farm laborer organization:						
34. Farm crops: (Special interest group)						
35. Livestock: (Special interest group)						
36. Fruits and vegetables: (Special Interest group)						
37. Dairying: (Special interest group)						
38. Other occupational organization:						
(4) ECONOMIC: 39. Farm crop marketing association:						
40. Livestock and poultry marketing association:						
41. Dairy products marketing association:						
42. Fruit and vegetable marketing association:						
43. Other marketing association:						
44. Coop. store or exchange:						
45. Other purchasing association:						
46. Credit association:						
47. Coop. insurance company						

VIII. FORMALLY ORGANIZED SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

10.

(A) Name or type of organization, club, association, or organized activity. (Economic cont'd.)	(B) Exists in the local area? X=Yes	(C) No. of Meet- ings	(D) (E) (F) (G) During the past year:			
			If one or more members of family belong to this organization:			
			(D) Most freq. attendant went	(E) No. mem. in this family	(F) No. of fices held	(G) Total fees paid
48. Coop. telephone company:						
49. Other cooperative assoc.:						
(5) FRATERNAL (Lodges, secret societies):						
50. Men's organization:						
51. Adults' organization, both sexes:						
52. Minors' organization:						
53. Women's frat. organization:						
54. Other fraternal organization:						
(6) OTHER ORGANIZATIONS:						
(a) <u>Civic. Patriotic:</u>						
55. American Legion:						
56. American Legion Auxiliary:						
57. V. F. W.						
58. Daughters of the American Rev.:						
59. United Daughters of the Confederacy:						
60. Boy Scouts:						
61. Girl Scouts or Camp Fire Girls:						
62. National or international civic clubs:						
63. Local community club:						
64. Nationality association:						
65. Other civic or patriot. association:						
(b) <u>Philanthropic Organization:</u>						
66.						
(c) <u>Reformist Organization:</u>						
67.						

VIII FORMALLY ORGANIZED SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

11.

(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)
Name or type of organization, club, association, or organized activity. (OTHER ORGANIZATIONS cont.)	Exists in the local area? X=Yes	No. of meetings	During the past year:			
			If one or more members of family belong to this organization:			
			Most freq. attendant went	No. mem. in this family	No. of- fices held	Total fees paid
(d) <u>Artistic</u> :						
68. Musical (Instrumental: band, orchestra) organiz.						
69. Musical (Vocal: not church choirs) organization:						
70. Dramatic organization:						
71. Other artistic organiz.						
(e) <u>Social or Recreational</u> :						
72. Women's social or recreational organization:						
73. Men's social or recreational organization:						
74. Adults' social or recreational organiz., both sexes:						
75. Other recreational organization:						

(ENUMERATOR OMIT)

SUMMARY OF FORMALLY ORGANIZED SOCIAL PARTICIPATION	Total Organ.	Total Meet.	Total Attendances	Total Members	Total Offices	Total paid
1. Religious organizations:						
2. Educational organizations:						
3. Occupational organizations:						
4. Economic organizations:						
5. Fraternal organizations:						
6. All other organizations:						
(a) Civic, patriotic orgs.:						
(b) Philanthropic organs.:						
(c) Reformist organiza.:						
(d) Political organiza.:						
(e) Artistic organiza.:						
(f) Recreational organiza.:						
(7) GRAND TOTALS ALL ORGANIZATIONS:						

IX. INFORMALLY ORGANIZED SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

1. During past 12 months, one or more members of family went to or took part in:

- | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> a-Religious revival | <input type="checkbox"/> e-State fair | <input type="checkbox"/> l-Athletic events |
| <input type="checkbox"/> b-Chautauqua | <input type="checkbox"/> f-Circus | <input type="checkbox"/> j-Picnic |
| <input type="checkbox"/> c-Lyceum | <input type="checkbox"/> g-Dances | <input type="checkbox"/> k-Hunting |
| <input type="checkbox"/> d-County fair | <input type="checkbox"/> h-Movies | <input type="checkbox"/> l-Fishing |

2. During past year, one or more adult members of this family: () a-served on jury;
() b-voted; () c-paid taxes: amount (excluding sales tax, etc.)\$_____3. Adult member of this family is now holding public office: () a-local government;
() b-state government: specify: _____

X. INTER-FAMILY SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Type of Participation

Number of times during the past twelve months that one or more members of THIS FAMILY

(A) Related	(B) Race	(C) Distance	(D) Tenure Class	(E) Tenure Rel.	(F) Names of Participating Families (Surname first)	(G) Went to visit at the home of	(H) Was guest for meal at home of	(J) Was visited at this home by	(K) Had others here as meal guests	(L) Exchange- ed labor, tools, work and materials, etc
Y N	S O		U R	Y N	1.					
Y N	S O		U R	Y N	2.					
Y N	S O		U R	Y N	3.					
Y N	S O		U R	Y N	4.					
Y N	S O		U R	Y N	5.					
Y N	S O		U R	Y N	6.					
Y N	S O		U R	Y N	7.					
Y N	S O		U R	Y N	8.					
Y N	S O		U R	Y N	9.					
Y N	S O		U R	Y N	10.					
Y N	S O		U R	Y N	11.					
Y N	S O		U R	Y N	12.					
Y N	S O		U R	Y N	13.					
Y N	S O		U R	Y N	14.					
Y N	S O		U R	Y N	15.					
Y N	S O		U R	Y N	16.					

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